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ABSTRACT

This is the third of a series of three volumes containing papers from a bilingual symposium held in 1975. Presentations and discussion at the symposium dealt primarily with suggestions for research which linguists should undertake to assist bilingual programs. This volume contains the following papers: "Sociolinguistics: Contributions to Bilingual Education," by Ralph W. Fasold; a response to Fasold's paper by William G. Milan; "Ethnography of Speaking," by Joel Sherzer; "The Ethnography of Speaking and Bilingual Education," by Lucia Elias-Olivares; and "The Comparative Study of Bilingualism in Education," by E. Glyn Lewis. A summary of the symposium, prepared by the staff of the Center for Applied Linguistics, concludes the volume. (CLK)

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# Final Report of the Bilingual Symposium:

# Building a Research Agenda

Vol. III

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# SOCIOLINGUISTICS: CONTRIBUTIONS TO BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Ralph W. Fasold

Sociolinguistics: Contributions to Bilingual Education

The scope of sociolinguistics. The field of sociolinguistics can usefully be divided into two subdivisions, both of which can make a contribution to problems of bilingual education. The focus on language as it varies according to social context is one subdivision. This part of the field can be called the sociolinguistics of language, a term which is roughly equivalent to Fishman's (1972) microsociolinguistics. A focus on society and the role language plays in the functions of society can be called the sociolinguistics of society, corresponding to Fishman's macrosociolinguistics. Studies of the sociolinguistics of language have made the linguistic theory of the nature of a speaker-hearer's linguistic competence the focus of investigation. Most of such studies have dealt with socially induced variation within a single language, but there is evidence that variation between two languages within the competence of a bilingual speaker might be accounted for in some respects with the same concepts. If this is true, it should have considerable implications both for teaching second languages and for assessing the degree of bilingualism a speaker has achieved. In the process of studying the sociolinguistics of language, sociolinguists have been forced to deal with the issue of the psychological nature of bilingual competence, bidialectal competence, and inherent variability. Although these concerns are perhaps more properly psycholinguistic, sociolinguists

have had something to say about them.

Studies of the sociolinguistics of society have provided information that may be even more relevant to the issues involved in setting up bilingual programs. These studies have addressed themselves to such interesting problems as the choice of the language to be used as the medium of instruction in various situations, aspects of the social setting that influence multilingual speakers to choose among their languages and to maintain or shift their languages, and general problems of language planning. I plan to present information from the sociolinguistics of society on the issue of the use of vernacular languages as educational media and on the social settings of bilingual communities that can be used to predict to some degree the success of bilingual programs as a whole and the success of individuals in learning second languages in particular.

Bilingual competence. The nature of a bilingual speaker's language competence is an important consideration for formulating both the goals and methods of second language teaching. The usual model that students of bilingualism have assumed is that a bilingual speaker has control of a separate grammar for each language that he knows. When he uses one language rather than another, he is assumed to switch from one grammar to another. When he speaks a second language with a foreign accent, it is generally assumed that he is inappropriately using grammar and pronunciation rules from the grammar of his first

language while speaking his second; this phenomenon is called interference. A few scholars who have studied bilingualism have suspected that the notion of separate grammars for separate languages might be too simple in some cases. Discussing this issue, Haugen (1972) comes to the following conclusion:

> In the world of the bilingual anything is possible, from virtual separation of the two codes to their virtual coalescence. The reasons for this are clearly rooted in the possibilities for variable competence in the human brain.

Haugen sees quite clearly that it is not necessary to assume that every bilingual has two separate and distinct grammars. This is one possibility, but it is also possible that she has a single grammar which contains elements of two languages, but which is different from the grammars of each that a monolingual speaker would have. Degrees of distinctness and coalescence between these two extremes are also possible.

The coalescence hypothesis has been found to be quite clearly the correct one for such bidialectal cases as speakers of nonstandard dialects who use both standard and nonstandard forms. Early studies of the English variety known as Vernacular Black English, for example, assumed the separate grammar with code-switching hypothesis (e.g., Dillard 1970). When a speaker of Vernacular Black English was observed using the more exotic features of his dialect, such as the absence of present tense

forms of to be, for example, he was assumed to be using the grammar of Vernacular Black English. If he sometimes used the to be forms as called for by the grammar of standard English, it was assumed either that he had switched to his standard English grammar or was experiencing interference from one dialect while using the grammar of the other. The inadequacy of such a model becomes quite clear in passages such as the following one, spoken by a pre-adolescent black youngster in Detroit (Wolfram 1969:170):

> Raymond, I think he thirteen. Oh, and I got another one, he live back over that way -- his name is Robert. I think he eleven. And I'm eleven and Lonnie Joe, he twelve and Little Man is fourteen and Richard is twelve.

The speaker switches between constructions in which is is absent and those in which it is present rapidly in the same discourse. It would be difficult to discover a credible motivation for the claim that he has switched between standard English and Vernacular Black English within this discourse. Furthermore, closer inspection would reveal that the copula is absent whenever the subject is a pronoun and it is present whenever the subject is a noun phrase. This suggests that there is a syntactic constraint within a single grammar that predicts that a pronoun subject triggers copula deletion and a noun phrase subject requires copula retention. Further investigation has shown,

however, that this constraint is not a hard and fast one. Vernacular Black English speakers do not always delete the copula with pronoun subjects, nor do they always fail to delete with noun phrase subjects. But it is true that the to be forms are more often deleted with pronoun subjects than with noun phrase subjects. The nature of the subject is a valid variable constraint within a single grammar. Similar variable constraints can readily be found for other features of this dialect and others. I have elsewhere suggested (Fasold 1972, 1976) that this case of inherent variability developed in a contact situation between an earlier kind of Black English in which deletion of to be forms was required by the grammar, and standard dialects of American English, where such deletion was forbidden.

If this is true, is it possible that a coalesced grammar could develop in other cases of contact between languages where the grammars of the separate languages are quite distinct? Gumperz and Wilson (1971) have presented evidence that it can. They investigated the multilingual case of Kupwar, a village in the state of Maharashtra, India. The major linguistic and social groups are the two land-holding groups, the Jains, speakers of Kannada, and the Moslems, speakers of Urdu; and the landless laborers who speak Marathi. The three languages have been in contact for hundreds of years without any of them replacing any of the others. There are cultural and social reasons for such

stable multilingualism.[1] Not only do the three languages exist in the village, but almost all the local men use two or all three of them. Therefore, not only the village, but the individual villagers are multilingual. The duration and intensity of the contact among the three languages have had a profound effect on their grammars.

The three languages are not particularly closely related historically. Urdu[2] and Marathi are both Indo-Aryan languages, but not especially closely related members of that family. The degree of relatedness might be compared to the relationship between French and Spanish. Kannada is a Dravidian language from an entirely different language family with strikingly different grammatical features. Over the centuries, the three languages have developed a converged grammar to the extent that they all share the same grammar differing only in lexicon and morphophonemics. As Gumperz and Wilson (1971:155) put it: "We may say, therefore, that the codes used in code-switching situations in Kupwar have a single syntactic surface structure."

An example is to be found in the subordinate construction of indirect statements and questions. In Hindi-Urdu

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[1]We will not discuss these reasons here. Later we will investigate the question of language maintenance in another connection.

[2]Urdu itself is part of a mixed linguistic system often referred to as Hindi-Urdu by linguists. Hindi and Urdu have substantially the same syntactic and phonological systems with more or less divergent lexicons.

and in Marathi, indirect quotations are introduced by the conjunction ki meaning "that", in the following manner:

$S_1$ ki $S_2$

He said that I'm going now.

In Kannada, the indirect quotation comes first and the conjunction is a form of the verb meaning "say", as follows:

$S_2$ conj $S_1$

I'm going now so saying he said

In Kupwar, all three languages use the construction found in standard Hindi-Urdu and Marathi. The examples below compare standard Hindi-Urdu (HU), Kupwar Urdu (KuU), Kupwar Marathi (KuM), and Kupwar Kannada (KuK).

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HU | bol-o | ki | kəhɑ̃ | gəy-a | tha | kəl |
| KuU | bol o | ki | khɑ̃ | gəe | te | kəl |
| KuM | sang a | ki | kuṭṭ | gelə | hota | kal |
| KuK | kel ri | ki | yəlli | hog | idi | ninni |
| | tell | that | where | went | | yesterday |

The sentence means "Tell (me) where you went yesterday." Kupwar Kannada, although it retains Kannada words, has altered the syntax radically to fit the coalesced local grammar. The possibility of grammar coalescence in bilingualism presents some interesting questions for bilingual educators. Faced with such a situation, educators would have to ask: "Is this type of multilingual competence an acceptable state of affairs? If so, in what situations would it be acceptable to allow a Kupwar Kannada

speaker, for example, to use his variety of Kannada? If not, what sort of a teaching program is required to help speakers reach an acceptable form of multilingualism?"

These questions are, of course, purely academic if comparable situations do not exist in the United States. I personally do not know of any, although I am familiar with reports of people who speak mixed languages, such as so-called "Tex-Mex". This phenomenon might be quite different from what Gumperz and Wilson describe. Labov (1971:457) gives one of many reports in the literature of bilingual speakers who switch rapidly between their languages within the same turn to talk. His example was recorded from a Puerto Rican speaker in New York City.

> Por eso cada, you know it's nothing to be proud of, porque yo no estoy proud of it, as a matter of fact I hate it, pero viene Vierne y Sabado yo estoy, tu me ve haci a mi, sola with a, aqui solita, a veces que Frankie me deja, you know a stick or something, y yo equi solita, queces Judy no sabe y yo estoy haci, viendo television.

Although such instances of rapid alternation seem to be rather random, Pfaff (1975) has been able to show that there are implicational relationships with regard to the places in a sentence at which a bilingual can switch languages. For example, Pfaff found that Spanish-English bilinguals who switch before an unconjugated verb as in:

pos nomas estaba making up con la morra de Yoli.

will also switch after sentence-introducing conjunctions or phrases as in:

si, pero we didn't get together yesterday.

but not necessarily the reverse. However, the fact that there is some system in rapid switching does not mean that speakers who engage in it are using a coalesced grammar. The two cases of language mixture appear to be psycholinguistically quite distinct. Cases like the one reported by Gumperz and Wilson in which speakers have acquired a coalesced grammar are far more of a challenge for programs that try to teach the standard forms of languages. Such speakers might be nearly as far from controlling the standard grammar as is a speaker of an entirely different language. Speakers who use rapid alternation are more likely to have something like separate grammars for the two languages, although the grammar of one of them might be less thoroughly internalized and the grammars of both might not be standard.

In either case of language mixture, it should not be taken for granted that a bilingual program should aim at the suppression of the coalesced grammar or the practice of rapid switching in favor of complete separation in the use of two languages. Both types of mixture have evolved to fulfill some need in society and are therefore useful skills for its members. Far better as a goal would be an attitude of respect for

the mixed or alternated languages and teaching or reinforcing of separate use of two languages as an additional skill which will be valuable in situations in which mixture is not appropriate.

Variation theory and second language acquisition. The study of the sociolinguistics of language has led to the development of some modifications to linguistic theory sometimes referred to as variation theory. One of the most interesting aspects of variation theory is the observation of linguistic change in progress. Change in progress is systematically reflected in the language variations that can be observed at any given time. In particular, it has been shown that a change in progress will come into a language according to the linguistic environment. A new form will appear first in the situation where the surrounding linguistic elements favor its appearance the most. Sometimes the surrounding linguistic elements that favor a change are phonological. For example, the deletion of the present tense forms of the copula in Vernacular Black English is favored if the copula is followed by a consonant. The surrounding elements can also be syntactic. The copula deletion rule is favored also if the subject of the sentence is a pronoun rather than a noun phrase. In the Guyanese Creole example given below, the syntactic and semantic class to which the main verb belongs influences the choice of the complement. In either case, we are talking about linguistic elements rather than

aspects of the social situation. When all of the surrounding linguistic elements favor the change, we have the heaviest environment. At first, the new form and the older form will both appear at different times in the heaviest environment. The new form (if nothing occurs to arrest the progress of the change) will appear more and more often in the heaviest environment and the older form less and less. At the same time, the new form will begin to appear in progressively less favorable linguistic environments until it appears in even the least favorable environment, called the lightest environment. As time goes on, the new form will replace the old form entirely in the heaviest environment while it becomes more and more frequent in the lighter environments. Eventually, if the change continues uninterrupted, the new form will replace the old form even in the lightest environment, at which point the change has gone to completion.

An example of how this works can be seen in a study of Guyanese Creole by Derek Bickerton (1971). The feature he studied was the replacement of the complementizer fu (from English for) with the form tu (from English to) as the creole becomes more similar to standard English. It is possible to observe both of the following versions of the sentence "John worked to make money".

Jan wok fu mek moni.

Jan wok tu mek moni.

The change, as expected, is sensitive to the linguistic environment. The heaviest environment for the appearance of tu is the case in which the main verb is inceptive, as staat 'start' or bigin 'begin'. The next heaviest environment is with desiderative and similar psychological verbs such as disaid 'decide', trai 'try', and fuget 'forget'. The lightest environment is that in which the main verb is neither inceptive nor desiderative. Therefore, although tu and fu can appear in sentences with any of the three main verb types, tu is most likely in sentence 1) below, second most likely in 2) and least likely in 3).

1) Jan bigin tu/fu mek moni "John began to make money."

2) Jan disaid tu/fu mek moni "John decided to make money."

3) Jan wok tu/fu mek moni "John worked to make money."

Furthermore, a speaker is not expected to use tu in sentences like 2) unless he also uses it in sentences like 1). Similarly, he will not use tu in sentences like 3) unless he also uses it in 1) and 2). Variation theory would predict that the pattern of usage of tu and fu would follow the pattern in Table 1.

| Possible | Main verb is: | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Speakers | Inceptive | Desiderative | Other |
| 1 | fu | fu | fu |
| 2 | tu/fu | fu | fu |
| 3 | tu/fu | tu/fu | fu |
| 4 | tu/fu | tu/fu | tu/fu |
| 5 | tu | tu/fu | tu/fu |
| 6 | tu | tu | tu/fu |
| 7 | tu | tu | tu |

Table 1. Variation between tu and fu in Guyanese Creole.

Bickerton discovered that only two of the twenty-eight speakers he studied failed to conform to the expected pattern, and these two might well turn out to conform with the inclusion of more data.

In an excellently conceived and executed study of bilingualism, Gatbonton-Segalowitz (Ms) found evidence that a second language learner will acquire features of the second language in the same way that new features move into a language over time. Gatbonton-Segalowitz examined the acquisition of English by native French speakers in Quebec. She studied in greatest detail the pronunciation of voiced and voiceless th and word-initial h. Canadian French speakers are inclined to substitute d for English voiced th (then pronounced like den), t for voiceless th (thing pronounced like ting) and to drop initial h (horse pronounced like 'orse). For each of these pronunciations, Gatbonton-Segalowitz found that the English pronunciation would be mastered in some environments more readily than in others. She was able to arrange five environments from heavy to light and discovered that the speakers who were learning English fell into a pattern identical to the one Bickerton discovered in Guyanese Creole. If we let the numeral 1 stand for the use of voiced th, 2 for the d pronunciation in voiced th words and 12 stand for variation between th and d, the pattern in Table 2 emerges.

| | Environments | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Heaviest | | | | Lightest |
| Speakers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 12 | 12 |
| 4 | 1 | 1 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| 5 | 1 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| 6 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| 7 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 2 |
| 8 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 2 | 2 |
| 9 | 12 | 12 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 10 | 12 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 11 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Table 2. Variation between th and d in the speech of Quebec French speakers learning English.

A statistically significant majority of the subjects fit in the above pattern. Furthermore, when native English speakers were asked to rate the same subjects as to their ability to speak English well, there was a statistically significant positive correlation of the rank order of their judgements with the rank order of the speakers as determined by the pattern above. This seems to suggest the possibility of some really sophisticated approaches to teaching and measuring the acquisition of second languages. It would mean that a correct set of weighted environments would have to be discovered for the language aspects of the second language that were to be taught. Once discovered, the new feature could be introduced in the heaviest environment first, where it is presumably most natural

and easiest to learn. The feature can then be introduced to progressively lighter environments until the student has acquired it in all environments. Similarly, students of a second language could be assessed for their acquisition of particular features of the language by observing their position in a display such as the one in Table 2.

Vernacular languages in education. Turning to the area of sociolinguistics of society, we find that one of the most-discussed issues is the matter of selecting the language to be used as the medium of instruction. In 1951, UNESCO held a now-famous Meeting of Specialists to make recommendations on the use of vernacular languages as instructional media. The majority conclusion of the Committee (UNESCO 1953) was that every effort should be made to provide children with at least initial instruction in their native languages since this practice would be emotionally and educationally most beneficial for the children and give each individual child the best possible educational opportunities. In the more than two decades since the UNESCO Report was published, its conclusions have been much discussed and debated. For one thing, it was immediately obvious that, regardless of educational benefits to be derived from vernacular language education programs, it would be impossible for many polyglot developing nations to provide vernacular language education for each linguistic group within their borders (e.g., Bull 1955).[3]

[3]The UNESCO Committee itself commented on this problem.

Quite apart from questions of economic and political feasibility, it is important to discover the extent of the purely educational benefits that can be expected to derive from vernacular language programs. In fact, numerous attempts have been made to test the hypothesis that the educational ability, and in particular, the reading ability in a second language, is enhanced if instruction is begun in the individual's native language. Patricia Lee Engle (1975), by "searching...many documents and files, plus telephoning around the country" (Engle 1975:6) was able to find 26 studies that applied to the vernacular language question.[4] Having studied her reports of these 26 studies, I was disappointed that so many of them had serious design problems, that there were so many confounding factors that could not be controlled, and that the results were so mixed. Of the original 26, I found it necessary to reject 12 outright for this report. Three of them were reports of research in progress from which results are not available. Five more were too poorly reported to be worthwhile. The other four did not really test the vernacular language hypothesis, although they are interesting as research on bilingual programs in general.

The remaining fourteen studies can be taken as tests of the Native Language (NL) hypothesis, the Direct Method (DM)

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[4]Engle says that the number is 24, but she has combined two studies into one in two instances, so that there are actually 26.

hypothesis, or a comparison of the two. The NL hypothesis would involve education beginning in the native language of a group of students who would then be switched to a second language. If it turns out that their achievement is measured as equal or superior to another group that received their education only in the second language, the experiment can be taken to be supportive of the NL hypothesis. In the DM approach, children are instructed through the medium of a second language from the beginning. The best DM programs involve oral instruction in the second language before teaching reading in it or using it as a medium. Engle is reluctant to call any approach that does not call for the oral introduction of the language before its use for other purposes a real example of DM, but my own criteria are more lenient.

The fourteen studies have been divided into three groups. The first consists of eight studies in which NL and DM approaches are compared. The second group consists of four studies of the efficacy of the DM approach and the third similarly consists of two studies of the validity of the NL approach. The experiments and their conclusions are compared in Tables 3 through 5. The tables cite the investigators, location of the study, the first and second languages involved, the results and problems. Numerous problems dogged all of the experiments. The Hawthorne effect was a possible confounding factor in almost all of the studies (three studies in which the Hawthorne effect was

Table 3. Results of Studies Comparing NL and DM

| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ramos et al. (1967) | Iloilo, Philippines | Hiligaynon | English |

Results: NL group superior in social studies, slightly higher in arithmetic. DM group higher in language.

Problems: Project reported and quoted in somewhat confused manner.

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| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | Ramos et al. (1967) | Rizal, Philippines | Pilipino (Tagalog) | English |

Results: Children tested in sixth grade. Group which began English as a medium in Grade 5 scored highest on English arithmetic test. Group which began English in Grade 1 scored highest on English language test.

Problems: Teachers were not trained in the use of Pilipino. All teacher training was in English.

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| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | Modiano (1960, 1973) | Mexico | Chiapas | Spanish |

Results: NL group scored significantly higher on Spanish reading test.

Problems: DM groups were poorly taught in general. Not a fair comparison for DM approach.

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| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | Ladefoged, Glick and Criper (1971) | Uganda | Various indigenous languages | English |

Results: Subjects asked to self-report whether or not they began English in first grade and when they began to learn English as a language or subject. No differences between highest and lowest scoring groups on reading tests in vernacular and English based on when English was begun.

Problems: No control of various school programs. Subject sample was small. No rural schools used English as medium in first grade and urban students in general scored higher. Eighty-three percent of variance was accounted for by the quality of the teachers.

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| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Kieth (1969) | U.S. | Spanish | English |

Results: NL group scored highest on English word discrimination and arithmetic after one year.

Problems: NL group scored significantly higher on pre-test of intelligence. Period of observation too short.

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| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | Tucker (1970) | Philippines | Pilipino (Tagalog) | English |

Results: Group which used English only, group which used Pilipino, and group in an alternate-day bilingual program did equally well in oral English and Pilipino reading.

Problems: Children were middle-class students at a university laboratory.

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| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | Pozzi-Escot (1972) | Peru | Quechua | Spanish |

Results: Group given oral Spanish with related literacy introduced after three months scored 15 on test. Group given oral Spanish and reading in Quechua with a switch to Spanish literacy in second year scored 13. Group taught reading and writing in Spanish with no oral training scored 11. Results said to be highly significant.

Problems: Nature of test, sample size, and statistical methods not defined.

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| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | Heath (1972) | Mexico | Various indigenous languages | Spanish |

Results: Investigation based on conception that NL approach was favored in Mexico in 1940's, DM in 1950's, and NL again in 1960's. Percentage of bilingualism in census data rose in 1940's, decreased slightly in 1950's, and increased again in 1960's.

Problems: Multitude of uncontrolled variables.

Table 4. Results of Studies Testing DM

| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *9. | Lambert and Tucker (1972); Bruck, Lambert, and Tucker (forthcoming) | Canada | English | French |

Results: Group which received instruction and reading in second language only scored at the same level of achievement as monolingual speakers of each language who studied the second language only as a subject from second grade on.

Problems: Students were all middle-class. Parents initiated and strongly supported the program.

---

| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. | Castillejo (1933) | Madrid, Spain | English | Spanish |

Results: English-speaking children entering kindergarten were equal to monolingual speakers after four years.

---

| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | Giles (1970) | Toronto, Canada | English | French |

Results: Group which began second language reading in first grade (and were introduced to English reading in second grade) eventually reached the same level of achievement as monolingual speakers.

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*Hawthorne effect minimal or non-existent

| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *12 | Macnamara (1966) | Ireland | English | Irish |

Results: No significant differences in language knowledge between children taught six years in Irish and children taught six years in English.

*Hawthorne effect minimal or non-existent

Table 5. Results of Studies Testing NL

| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *13 | Giraux and Ellis (1968) | Quebec, Canada | French | English |

Results: Children who were taught in French for first three years and in English for last three years were equal in reading ability to Quebec French-school sixth graders but scored at only the fourth grade level on English reading.

| No. | Investigators | Location | First Language | Second Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 | Herbert (1971) | Texas, U.S. | Spanish | English |

Results: Four groups were taught to read in Spanish first, then switched to English. One group scored as well as English-speaking controls in reading English. The other three groups scored lower than controls in reading English.

*Hawthorne effect non-existent

believed to be minimal or non-existent are marked with an asterisk). It was also difficult to guarantee that equivalent quality of instruction was given to the groups being compared, to control for attitudes towards the languages being used and, in general, to be sure that some uncontrolled factor was not producing the results. Besides these general problems, the most serious problems with the individual studies are listed in the table.

Of the three types of studies, the typical approach in the ones that compare the two methods is to set up two or more groups which receive different treatment. One or more groups, the experimental groups, receive instruction in their native language first and at some time during the experiment are switched to a second language. The control group or groups are instructed in the second languages only. After a period of time, both groups are given various kinds of achievement and perhaps intelligence tests. In the other two kinds of studies, the experimental group is instructed by either the NL or DM approach and are later tested against groups of monolingual students of the experimental groups' second language who have received the standard sort of educational program in that particular location. Any differences from these basic approaches are indicated in the tables.

An examination of the studies does not lead to clear conclusions either for or against NL or DM. Most of the studies

comparing the two approaches show the experimental and control groups either doing equally well or one group scoring higher in one kind of test and the other scoring higher in another. Three studies in Table 3 (Nos. 3, 5, and 8) show results favorable to NL. Unfortunately, all three have serious problems in them. The Modiano study (No. 3) seems not to be a fair test of DM since the students in the state and federal schools who served as controls were given no oral instruction in Spanish before the language was introduced for reading and other purposes. A fairer test would begin with an adequate introduction to Spanish by the control group. No. 5 can almost be ignored, since the experimental NL group was apparently more intelligent than the control group to begin with and the one-year period of observation is too short a basis for valid conclusions. I included No. 8, the study of census data, because of the ingeniousness of its conception, but the lack of control of variables makes it difficult to accept its conclusions except possibly if they were to reinforce more rigorous experimental investigations.

Study No. 7, on the other hand, seems to demonstrate the superiority of DM. But the experiment is incompletely reported and until more is known about the test used, the size of the sample and the statistical methods used, it is hard to take the results as conclusive.

The studies comparing the two approaches, then, seem to defy the possibility of drawing conclusions one way or the other.

The studies in Table 4, testing the direct method only, all seem to come to the same conclusion. In all four studies, students who studied using the Direct Method in a second language tested out as the equivalent of monolingual speakers. However, none of the tests involved students who were part of a disadvantaged minority and all the studies were done in Western societies. Furthermore, with the possible exception of No. 12, the experimental students appear to be middle class youngsters who can be expected to do relatively well regardless of instructional methods. The degree to which the results of these four studies can be generalized to situations involving disadvantaged minorities is questionable.

There also seems to be agreement between the two studies in Table 5 designed to test the NL approach. With the exception of the one group out of four in Study 14, all the NL groups scored below monolingual speakers of the second language in reading. However, the real question is not whether or not a group which is introduced to the use of a second language by means of the NL approach can do as well as monolingual speakers of the second language, but rather whether or not they can do as well as a comparable group learning the second language by the Direct Method. On the other hand, the four studies testing the DM <u>did</u> show learners of a second language overtaking monolingual speakers over a period of time. But a very possibly confounding difference is that, as has been pointed out, none of the DM tests

involved disadvantaged minorities, while both of the NL tests did. While on the face of it, the studies testing the validity of the DM seem to come out more favorably than those testing NL, the sociocultural differences between the groups tested may be the crucial factor rather than the approaches themselves.

In the end, the educational value of the two approaches seems still to be in doubt, even after over twenty years and at least twenty-six studies. If the final answer should be that there is little inherent difference in the educational value of the two approaches, then the choice of which to use would depend on the desire to preserve linguistic and cultural diversity and to make the initiation of children into public education as smooth as possible versus the effort and expense involved in establishing vernacular language programs.

One further comment on the use of vernacular languages in education might be in order. In certain cases, a language is maintained by a certain group largely because they are isolated and do not have opportunities to move into the mainstream of the society of their nation. In such cases, a vernacular language educational program, including the eventual introduction of the national language as a second language, may provide the essential stepping-stone by which the younger generation would move out of their ethnic and linguistic group and into the mainstream, with the end result that a language which might otherwise have been maintained will die out completely. William Bull

(1955), who argues against the UNESCO Report and believes that a net reduction in the number of languages in the world would be a desireable eventuality, suggests that a plan of action that would move more people into the use of fewer languages would actually include an increase, temporarily, in vernacular language education.

Language maintenance and shift. Planners of bilingual education programs need to be concerned with more than the educational needs of the individual students. The success or failure of a program might depend crucially on what is happening in the community with regard to language maintenance or shift. In some communities, language shift is underway and it might be the case that by the time a bilingual program were ready for implementation, one of the languages had been abandoned in favor of the other. Before a commitment is made, it is important to try to determine the shift patterns at work in the community. One clue is to observe differences in language use in various age groups. The pattern in Figure 1, for the Pays d'Oc area of France shows a community that appears to be in the final stages of shift from the regional patois to French (Tabouret-Keller 1972). The children are learning French as their first language and acquiring the patois later in order to communicate with older people. On the face of it, it appears that the shift will be complete in a generation or two when the native speakers of patois have died. This development is not guaranteed, of course. It

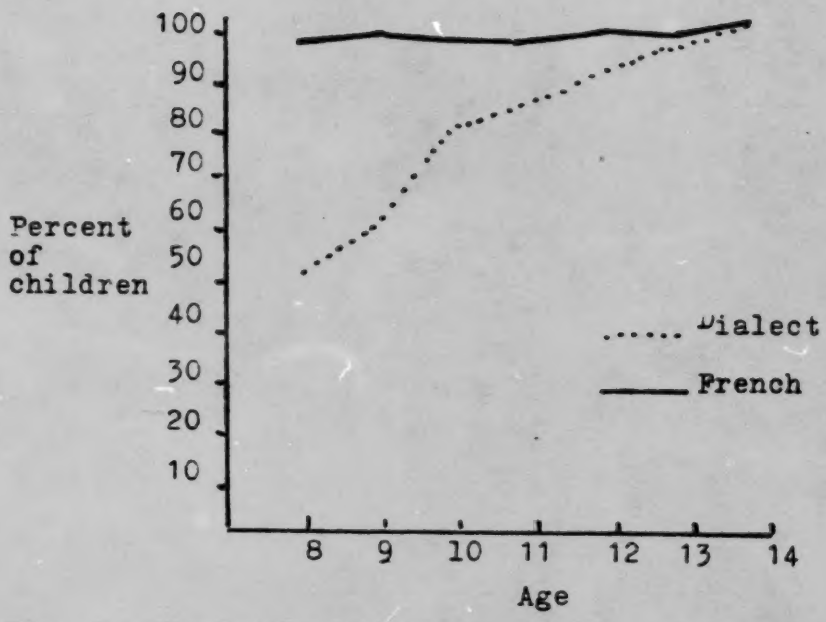


Fig. 1. Variation in the knowledge of French and the use of the dialect in Pays d'Oc. (Adapted from Tabouret-Keller 1972)

would be necessary to determine the cultural value system in order to supplement the information in Figure 1. For example, if it is necessary to have a separate language system for adult use only, the patois might be maintained for that purpose. As children grow up, they acquire patois as part of their acceptance in the adult world. In the absence of such a value, the situation in Figure 1 would be evidence of the demise of patois.

By contrast, compare the information displayed in Figure 2 for the Alsace region of France. Here we see that young children acquire Alsatian as their first language and many add French later. Tabouret-Keller supplies the additional information that Alsation and French are in diglossic relationship, that is, French is reserved for formal and educational purposes with

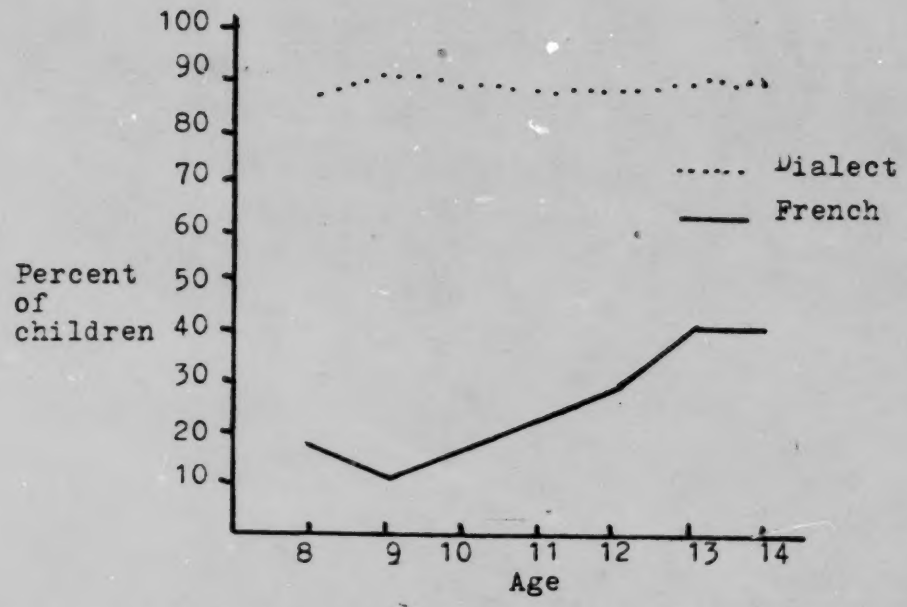


Fig. 2. Variation in the knowledge of French and the use of the dialect in Alsace. (Adapted from Tabouret-Keller 1972)

Alsation fulfilling the communicative needs of everyday life. Under these conditions, it may be expected that the two language varieties will be maintained indefinitely.

Language maintenance and shift among the Tiwa Indians. As an illustration of how research into the language use and attitudes of a multilingual community can be helpful for planning for bilingual education, I carried out a small pilot study by means of questionnaires in the Tiwa Indian community of Taos, New Mexico.[5] The Tiwas are a pueblo-dwelling group of about

[5]I am grateful to David and Alice Hull of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc. for distributing and collecting the questionnaire as well as valuable help in constructing it.

2,000 individuals, most of whom still live in the ancestral pueblo homes. Bilingualism has been a fact of life for the Tiwas for generations, with Spanish giving way to English as the second language over the years. The Tiwas are remarkable for the fact that they have maintained their indigenous language for centuries despite the hegemony first of Mexico and more recently of the United States, and in spite of the fact that the group is numerically very small.

At the outset, a number of caveats seem to be in order. The data I will present shares the defect with other research based on self-reported data, that the results might be more in line with what the respondents believe should be the case rather than what actually exists (cf. Rona 1966). The 48 questionnaires which were collected is a rather small number, although it represents a larger percentage than it would in a larger community. Although I have found it useful to divide the responses by age-groups, some of the resulting groupings are smaller than others. As is often the case with a pilot study such as this one, some of the questions may have been ambiguous or improperly asked in other ways. As a result, some of the patterns that seem apparent in the study may not be entirely born out in a more extensive and better-constructed research project.

Nonetheless, I believe the study has considerable value for illustrative purposes. Although all the conclusions may not be born out in a better research design, the implications for

bilingual education if they were born out are realistic.

The subjects were first asked which of the three languages in local use (Tiwa, Spanish, and English) they spoke themselves and understood. They were also asked which of the languages their parents and grandparents spoke. The question about the language of the grandparents was divided into separate questions about maternal and paternal grandparents, so that the results for the second ascending generation have more responses than for the other generations (not all the respondents were able to answer for both sets of grandparents, however). When these data are arranged by the age-groups of the respondents, the pattern of the decline of Spanish as a second language and the ascendency of English, together with the maintenance of Tiwa, emerged fairly clearly. Table 6 reveals this pattern. The respondents were divided into four age-groups: 50-75, 30-45, 16-25, and 11-14 (these seemed to be natural divisions in the data as it emerged). The indication +2 in the table indicates the languages reported for the respondents' grandparents. Similarly, a +1 indicates the languages spoken by the respondents' parents. The notation "same" indicates the languages spoken by the respondents themselves. The responses are further subdivided into what seem to be five major dominant patterns

in Table 6. Pattern 1 shows the majority of speakers bilingual in Tiwa and Spanish. If a speaker knows English, he or she also speaks Tiwa and Spanish as well.

| Pattern | Reporting Age Group | Generation Reported | Percent Speaking Various Languages TS | TES | TE | T | E |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 50-75 | +2 (N=10) | 90 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | 30-45 | +2 (N=12) | 58.3 | 8.3 | 0 | 35.3 | 0 |
| 2 | 50-75 | +1 (N=6) | 66.7 | 0 | 33.3 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | 30-45 | +1 (N=7) | 14.3 | 14.3 | 57.1 | 14.3 | 0 |
| | 16-25 | +2 (N=22) | 9.1 | 31.3 | 50 | 9.1 | 0 |
| | 11-14 | +2 (N=44) | 6.8 | 43.2 | 31.8 | 15.9 | 2.3 |
| 4 | 50-75 | same (N=5) | 0 | 20 | 80 | 0 | 0 |
| | 30-45 | same (N=7) | 0 | 14.3 | 85.7 | 0 | 0 |
| | 16-25 | +1 (N=12) | 0 | 0 | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| | 11-14 | +1 (N=23) | 0 | 17.4 | 73.9 | 4.3 | 4.3 |
| | 16-25 | same (N=12) | 0 | 0 | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | 11-14 | same (N=24) | 0 | 0 | 75 | 0 | 25 |

Table 6. Patterns of bilingualism through time in the Tiwa community. TS=Tiwa & Spanish, TES=Tiwa, English & Spanish, TE=Tiwa & English, T=Tiwa only, E=English only.

Two grandparents of speakers in the 30-45 age group also are reported to be monolingual in Tiwa.

In Pattern 2, the majority are bilingual in Tiwa and Spanish but a minority appears that is bilingual in Tiwa and English. In Pattern 3, there remain a few Tiwa-Spanish bilinguals, but the majority knows Tiwa and English (a substantial percentage know Spanish as well) and some are reported as

monolingual in Tiwa.[6] One speaker is reported as monolingual in English.[7] In Pattern 4, the major pattern reported, there are no more Tiwa-Spanish bilinguals. Everyone who speaks Spanish also knows English (and, of course, Tiwa). The majority are bilingual in Tiwa and English. One person is reported as monolingual in Tiwa. In Pattern 5, reported for themselves by the 11-14 age group, there are no Spanish speakers at all and six speakers report themselves monolingual in English.

The data in Table 6 are displayed again in Figure 3. Figure 3 clearly shows English replacing Spanish as the second language while Tiwa is retained by all speakers, until Pattern 5. The patterns are increasingly recent in terms of time. Spanish seems to have survived slightly better as a language which is understood by the Tiwa Indians than as a spoken language, as Table 7 shows.

The information in the tables and figures we have presented in this section show that the youngest group of speakers, unlike the older groups, are not all speakers of Tiwa. This

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[6]Notice that some of the speakers reported as monolingual in Tiwa are grandparents of respondents in the two younger age groups. It is possible that they are actually bilingual in Tiwa and Spanish. Since none of the respondents in the two younger age groups speak Spanish, the only language they would have in common with these grandparents is Tiwa and would no doubt converse with them in that language. As a result, the grandparents might have known Spanish, but that fact might not have been realized by their grandchildren.

[7]Possibly, this individual was not an Indian.

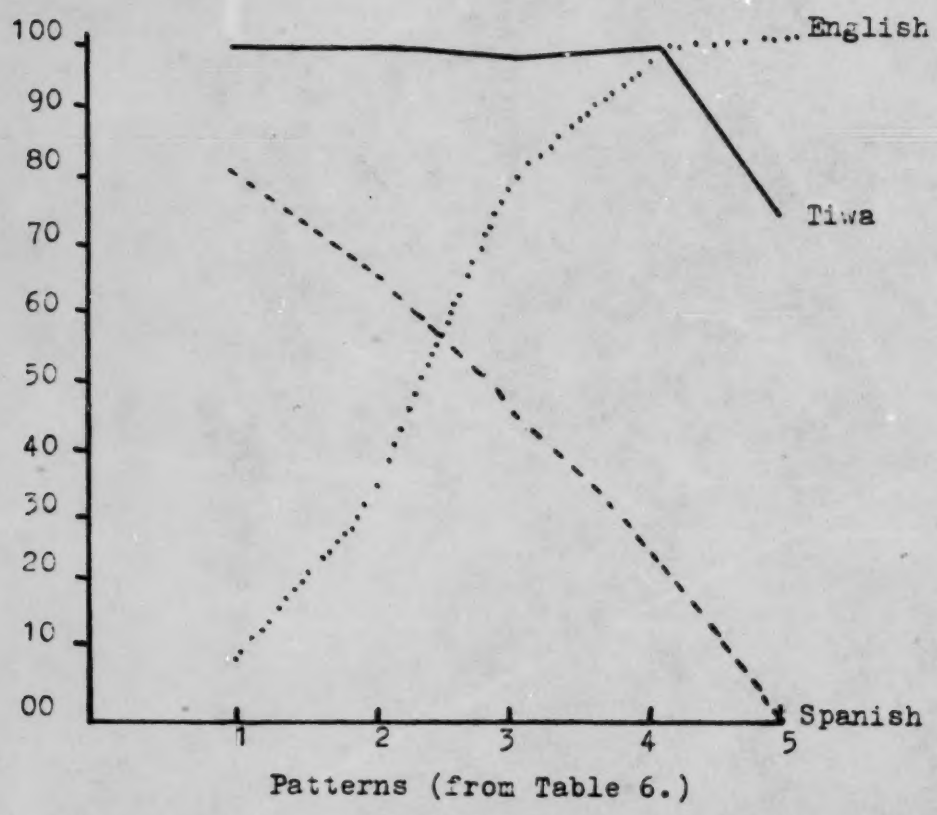


Figure 3. Second language shift over time in the Tiwa community.

| Age Groups | | Languages E | TE | TES |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 50-75 | Spoken | 0 | 4 | 1 |
| | Understood | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| 30-45 | Spoken | 0 | 6 | 1 |
| | Understood | 0 | 5 | 2 |
| 16-25 | Spoken | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| | Understood | 0 | 11 | 1 |
| 11-14 | Spoken | 6 | 18 | 0 |
| | Understood | 3 | 21 | 0 |

**Table 7. Languages spoken and understood by four age groups in the Tiwa community.**

could indicate that the bilingual tradition has begun to weaken. It is possible that some flaw in the data has made this more apparent than real. Possibly, some of the younger respondents understood the questionnaire to be asking for the language they know best, rather than for all the languages they know, although that seems unlikely.[8] It is also possible that they may yet learn Tiwa, despite the fact that they are near the end of the optimum age for language acquisition. More probably, there may have been a minority of Tiwa Indians who were monolingual in English for several generations, but this is not revealed because we have fewer respondents in the older age groups. Although we cannot have full confidence in the conclusion that there is a trend away from bilingualism, there are other indications in the data that this might be so.

The maintenance of bilingualism in a society depends to a large extent on the maintenance of separate spheres or domains for each of the languages. If the sociolinguistic rules of language choice call for one language in one situation and another in another situation, it is likely that the two will be maintained. If both languages can be used in all situations, one of two things usually happens. If the language varieties are sufficiently similar, the differences between them may blur and

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[8]Notice that three of the respondents who claim to be monolingual in English, as shown in Table 7, nevertheless felt free to indicate that they <u>understand</u> both English and Tiwa.

a single neutralized variety will result. If the languages are not similar, as in the case of English and Tiwa, one is likely to replace the other. The questionnaire data seems to indicate that English is making inroads in certain domains in which it was formerly appropriate to use only Tiwa. The language to be used to elders seems to be one example. The choice of Tiwa as the only language to be used with elders seems to be a language choice rule that is weakening. The evidence is in Table 8.

| Age Group of Speaker | Generation of Addressee | Language Used | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | T | TE | E | TES |
| 50-75 | +2 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | +1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | 0 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 30-45 | +2 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | +1 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | 0 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 16-25 | +2 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | +1 | 3 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| | 0 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| 11-14 | +2 | 9 | 9 | 6 | 0 |
| | +1 | 6 | 11 | 7 | 0 |
| | 0 | 3 | 15 | 6 | 0 |

Table 8. Use of various languages to addressees of three generations by four age groups in the Tiwa community.

Respondents were asked to indicate which language they would use with their grandparents (+2 in the "Generation of Addressee" column in Table 8), their parents (+1) and their brothers and

sisters (0).[9]

The gradual increase in the use, first of Tiwa and English, and later of English alone, to addressees of higher ascending generations as the age group of the speakers decreases is clear in Table 8. The change is perhaps more dramatically illustrated in Figure 4 (the one speaker who used Tiwa, English, and Spanish is included in the TE column).

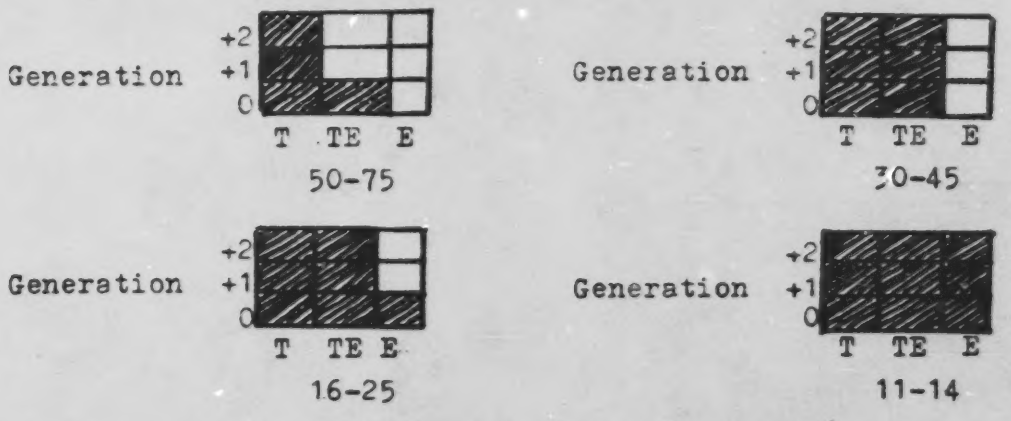


Figure 4. Increasing use of English to family members through four age groups in the Tiwa community. Shaded areas indicate reports of languages used.

The value that Tiwa is the appropriate language to use with older people is not lost entirely, of course. Even in the youngest age group, there are more reports of the exclusive use

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[9]Part of this phenomenon might be explained in the way indicated earlier in footnote 6. Some of the grandparents did not speak English and the grandchildren did not speak Spanish, leaving Tiwa as the only common language. However, this would not explain language choice to parents of people in the three younger age groups, whose parents speak English.

of Tiwa as the generation of the addressee increases, and only among the monolingual 11-14 year olds are there speakers who would use only English with their grandparents.[10] But to the degree that English is becoming appropriate in a situation in which Tiwa was formerly the only appropriate language, the motivation for maintaining Tiwa is weakened.

Another situation in which there seems to be something of a shift away from the exclusive use of Tiwa is within the community. Table 9 shows the four age groups as they reported

| Age Group | | Languages used with Indian friends | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Tiwa | Tiwa/English | English |
| 50-75 | In the pueblo | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| (N=5) | In town | 80 | 20 | 0 |
| 30-45 | In the pueblo | 57.1 | 42.9 | 0 |
| (N=7) | In town | 28.6 | 71.4 | 0 |
| 16-25 | In the pueblo | 66.7 | 33.3 | 0 |
| (N=12) | In town | 50 | 50 | 0 |
| 11-14 | In the pueblo | 29.2 | 37.5 | 33.3 |
| (N=24) | In town | 25 | 45.8 | 29.2 |

Table 9. Percent of respondents reporting the use of Tiwa and English with Indian friends in two settings.

the languages they would use "with Indian friends when you are in town" and "with Indian friends when you are in the pueblo".

[10] Another indication that Tiwa is felt to be more appropriate with older addressees comes from information inserted into the questionnaire by a 17-year-old high school student who, for the question about the languages to be used "if you meet a Taos Indian in town", indicated that she would use Tiwa if the other Indian were older than 50 and English if he or she were "50 and younger".

Slightly more respondents report the use of only Tiwa in the pueblo than in town, but what is interesting is the trend toward the use of English within the community in both settings. If this trend is a real one, it could point to the weakening of the "unifying and separatist functions" (Garvin and Mathiot 1956) of the Tiwa language, functions which are a major force in favor of language maintenance. The numbers of respondents are too small to permit very much confidence to be placed in detailed analysis, but for what it is worth, it appears that the same proportion of respondents in the 11-14 age group as in the 30-45 age group is reporting the exclusive use of Tiwa with Indian friends in town, if not in the pueblo. This may indicate a slowdown in the shift toward English. The 16-25 age group shows a larger proportion reporting the exclusive use of Tiwa than either the next younger or the next older age groups. If this is an accurate reflection of community trends, it could mean that these young adults are recovering a sense of the value of the language as a symbol of group identity. If so, young adults might be the vanguard of a reversal of the trend toward English in this domain.

English, on the other hand, seems quite clearly to be the language of inter-ethnic communication and favored as the appropriate language of education. None of the respondents indicated that they would use any other language with Anglo friends. All the respondents would use English exclusively with Spanish friends as well, except for one respondent from the 50-75 age

group who would use both English and Spanish. Furthermore, three-fourths of the respondents said that they would use only English with their Indian friends if Anglo or Spanish friends were around (the rest, except for one who reported the exclusive use of Tiwa, would use both Tiwa and English).[11] Only the respondents 19 and older were asked which languages were "best for education" (18 respondents), but twelve of them said that only English is best, with all but one of the remaining six saying that both Tiwa and English are best.

Although we have presented some evidence for the weakening of bilingualism in the community, there are facts in favor of the maintenance of Tiwa. Tiwa was overwhelmingly evaluated as the "most beautiful" language (by 89.6%), with all but one of the rest checking both Tiwa and English. All but one of the respondents indicated that they would want their children to know Tiwa, half wanting them to be bilingual in Tiwa and English and the remainder checking Tiwa only or all three languages. The responses of the monolingual youngsters, on examination, reveal that they may have found their lack of knowledge of Tiwa a disadvantage. Four of the six monolingual speakers said that Tiwa was the "most beautiful" (although they don't speak it), all six said that they would want their children to know Tiwa

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[11] One woman in the 30-45 age group indicated that she would use both Tiwa and English, adding that she would use Tiwa "to keep them from understanding", a sign that the "separatist" function is a factor.

(including two who checked only Tiwa for this question), and three of them said that they would have liked to have been taught exclusively in Tiwa through high school (two more checked "maybe" for this question). In addition, three of the six, as we have seen, reported that they understand Tiwa, although they do not speak it.

The picture we receive of the Tiwa community is that of a group with a long history of bilingualism, a tradition that continued through the decline of one second language and the rise of another. The position of English as the language of inter-group communication seems firm and the opinion that it is the best language for education only slightly less so. There are a few signs indicating that English, unlike Spanish before it, might eventually replace Tiwa for everyday purposes.[12] Younger speakers are more free to use English with parents and grandparents where older speakers would use only Tiwa. Although there are some indications that English is gaining ground as a language of intra-group communication, this trend, if it exists in reality, may be reversed. There are some monolingual speakers among the younger people, but they seem to share the strong affective evaluation of the Tiwa language with bilingual speakers, and monolingualism seems to be something of a disadvantage to

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[12]If the indigenous religion survives, as it has so far, Tiwa is almost certain to survive with it as a liturgical language.

them. In short, the Tiwa community has been bilingual for generations, and will remain so, at least for two or three more. Even if there is an irreversable trend in favor of the replacement of Tiwa by English, it will take at least that long to be completed, as the long history of the decline of Spanish shows.[13]

The value of research on language use patterns such as this one has an obvious value for planners of bilingual programs. A language use study can provide information that will allow predictions of language maintenance and shift in a community. As I have already indicated, there would be little point in expending the effort to establish a bilingual program if the community for which it is designed is well on its way toward giving up one of its languages. In such a case, however, it is possible to consider the bilingual program as a way of "saving" the declining language. If a new generation of young people is taught the language in school, it seems on the face of it reasonable that the language might make a recovery. It seems to me that it is very unlikely that the educational system can be successfully used to bring back a language that a community finds dispensible in everyday life. A particularly sad example of the substantial failure of an effort to restore a declining language in spite of

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[13]The decline of Spanish was probably inevitable when New Mexico was ceded to the United States in 1848, about the time the grandparents of our oldest age-group were born. Yet now, 125 years later, there are still people with ability in Spanish, especially receptive ability.

extensive efforts at language planning through the educational system is the attempt to restore the Irish language (O'Huallachain 1962, 1970). In a case like the Tiwa community, on the other hand, in which, even if my conclusions are accurate, the Tiwa language is just beginning to decline but still functions in the community, a bilingual education program might well play a role in reversing the decline.

Another value in knowing the use patterns would be for the construction of realistic materials. In the Tiwa case, for example, it would be unrealistic to portray a child in a story speaking to his grandmother in English but his friends in Tiwa. Knowing that the value system calls for the use of Tiwa with older people would prevent materials developers from making such a mistake.

In addition to their reports of their language use and attitudes, the Tiwa respondents were asked their opinions of various educational options involving the use of Tiwa and English. One set of questions involved beginning education in Tiwa only, perhaps with a later switch to English, according to the recommendation of the UNESCO Report. The other set asked for responses to options involving the use of both Tiwa and English side by side. Table 10 shows the responses to one option following the UNESCO suggestion, using Tiwa as the medium of instruction through elementary school with a switch to English in high school. Table 11 shows the responses to one bilingual option, the use of

| Age Group | Yes | Maybe | No |
|---|---|---|---|
| 50-75 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 30-45 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| 16-25 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| 11-14 | 4 | 11 | 9 |
| Totals | 13 | 19 | 16 |

Table 10. Responses to the question: "Would you like to have been taught (have your children taught) by teachers speaking Tiwa in elementary school, but by teachers speaking English in high school?"

| Age Group | Yes | Maybe | No |
|---|---|---|---|
| 50-75 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 30-45 | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| 16-25 | 10 | 1 | 1 |
| 11-14 | 10 | 7 | 7 |
| Totals | 30 | 9 | 9 |

Table 11. Responses to the question: "Would you like to have been taught (have your children taught) by teachers using both Tiwa and English through high school?"

both Tiwa and English through high school.

The opinions of the respondents seem to be quite divided on the option that involves beginning education in Tiwa

and later switching to English.[14] Support for a straight bilingual program seems stronger, especially in the crucial young adult and early middle-aged groups who are most likely to have school-aged children. The youngest group, children who are still in school, are the least supportive, perhaps because it is hard for them to imagine any other situation than the status quo.

Perhaps most revealing was the response to the final question on the questionnaire. This one asked, regardless of how the respondent had reacted to the two sets of options, that they indicate whether they would prefer the option they favored most among those calling for a switch from Tiwa to English or the one they chose among those calling for the parallel use of both languages. Over 90% chose the option calling for the parallel use of both languages.

The data from the questionnaire responses indicate that a bilingual program, although perhaps not one beginning with the exclusive use of Tiwa, would probably be acceptable to the community. Such a program would not be wasted as it might in a

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[14]Some individuals seem to be very much against the options calling for the exclusive use of Tiwa for all or part of one's educational experience. One 35-year-old woman added and checked a box labelled "None" when asked which of three options of this type she liked best. A 14-year-old boy changed the response "No" to "Hell, no"- and checked it- when asked if he would like to have been taught in Tiwa through high school.

community in which a shift away from one of its languages were imminent. On the other hand, it is not clear that the exclusive use of English in the educational system is a particular linguistic handicap. Tiwa children seem to become bilingual at a fairly early age, perhaps learning the two languages virtually simultaneously. On the other hand, a bilingual program could have a considerable salutory effect in demonstrating an appreciation for the Tiwa language and culture. Whether or not a bilingual program is to be recommended would depend crucially on the purposes of such programs in the minds of local educators. In any event, decisions about whether and how to implement a bilingual program can be made on much firmer ground if the sort of information about the community that we have been discussing is known.

Attitudinal influences on second language learning.

The way in which linguistic groups are positioned in society and the attitudes with which one group regards the other are important factors in predicting the success in a bilingual program that involves the learning of a second language. The effect of an individual's group orientation had a profound effect on the way in which she would react to a speaker of one language rather than another in the study of English and French in Quebec by Gatbonton-Segalowitz (Ms). In one experiment, she prepared tape-recordings of bilingual speakers, sometimes speaking French, sometimes English, and sometimes both, one immediately after the other. Groups of French Canadians were asked to listen to these speakers,

each of whom they were led to believe were three different people--one when they used French, one when they used English, and one when they used both--and were then asked specific questions about how they would deal with them. The subjects themselves (i.e., the listeners) were divided into three groups: a "nationalistic" group, a "liberal" group, and a "nonnationalistic" group. Subjects were assigned to these groups on the basis of their answers to questions concerning separatism for Quebec and related social and political issues. The "nationalistic" group were strongly pro-French and tended toward excluding English-speaking Canadians. The "liberal" group was equally pro-French, but did not reject the English-speaking group as strongly. The "nonnationalistic" group indicated that it favored development for Quebec within a framework of Canadian unity.

These subjects were asked various questions about how they would react to the speakers on the tape. Among these was the question concerning whether or not the tape-recorded speaker would be acceptable as a leader in a group consisting only of French Canadians. The results, illustrated in Figure 5, are quite striking. Using a Newman-Keuls test, Gatbonton-Segalowitz discovered that "Both the nationalistic and the liberal group of subjects (both strongly pro-French) reacted more favourably to the French only guise than to either the double language or the English only guise ($p < .05$), while the nonnationalistic group showed the reverse pattern." (Gatbonton-Segalowitz Ms. p. 210).

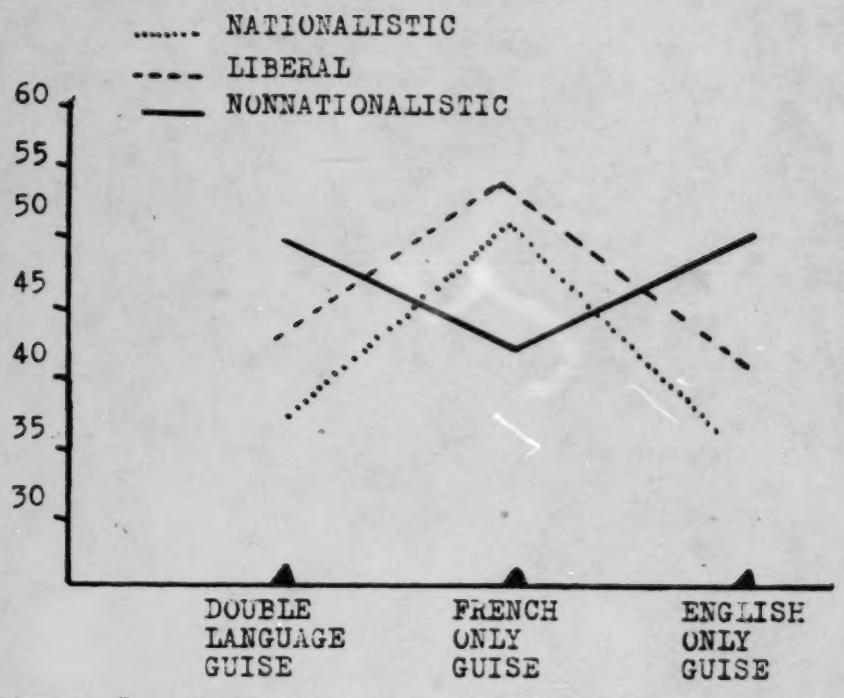


Figure 5. Mean responses of three groups of subjects toward the speakers' language guises on the Leadership Intragroup Scales. (Gatbonton-Segalowitz Ms.)

Although Gatbonton-Segalowitz found evidence that what language a person is speaking can have a significant effect on how a French Canadian listener will react to him, depending on that listener's own attitudes towards his own and the other group, it does not necessarily follow that such attitudes will have an influence on the progress of a French speaker learning English. On the other hand, it seems reasonable that it might. A French nationalist in Quebec, realizing perhaps subconsciously, that the use of English can have a negative influence on the opinion

of others who share his political views, might find this realization a psychological drag on his acquisition of English. In fact, Gatbonton-Segalowitz found that a speaker's political attitudes had a definite influence on the level of acquisition of two of the three English sounds she investigated. Measuring "level of development" in two acquisitional models she developed based on the pattern in Table 2 (where the higher a speaker's position on the table, the higher her "level of development"), when learners of English were divided into "nationalistic", "liberal", and "nonnationalistic" groups on the same basis as before, Gatbonton-Segalowitz obtained the following results.

> Mann-Whitney tests of the difference between the levels of development of the nationalistic and nonnationalistic informants revealed significant results on the /ʒ/ and /θ/ variables but not with the /h/ variable. With regards to the /ʒ/, the significant comparison was obtained on both the simple and the detailed model ($p < .05$, one-tailed test in both cases). With regards to /θ/, the difference was significant only on their level of development as measured on the simple model ($p < .025$). In each case, the level of development of the nonnationalistic subjects was significantly higher than that of the nationalistic subjects. (Gatbonton-Segalowitz, Ms. pp. 232-33).

It seems that the nationalistic orientation of one group of

speakers is related to slower development in the acquisition of these English sounds. These findings are particularly striking since it can scarcely be the case that the nationalistic speakers were deliberately demonstrating lower English proficiency to reinforce the impression of a nationalistic stance. Such a conclusion seems so unlikely because of the sophisticated definition of "level of development" based on the distribution of English and non-English variants of particular sounds in a set of weighted environments which the speakers were surely unaware of. Attitudes toward one's own group and other groups, then, can be an important factor in predicting the speed and degree of success in the acquisition of a second language.

Conclusions. Work on several fronts in sociolinguistics may have considerable usefulness for those planning bilingual education programs. Research on the sociolinguistics of language has brought to light fascinating new information on the psychological competence of bilinguals pointing to the possibility of merged grammars. The recent application of principles of variation theory to the acquisition of second languages by Gatbonton-Segalowitz indicates that language learners may acquire second languages as languages acquire new features over time, opening up the possibility of greater sophistication in the teaching and measuring of second language ability. The methods of research in the sociolinguistics of society can well be put to use wherever bilingual education programs are being contemplated. Knowledge

about the maintenance and functions of languages in multilingual societies is crucial for the prediction of the success of a bilingual program for that community. On the individual level, it appears that attitudes toward languages, or more accurately, toward groups who use certain languages, can have an important effect on the speed and thoroughness with which an individual acquires that language. Hopefully, information of all these various kinds will find their way into the planning of bilingual education in the future.

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"Sociolinguistics: Contributions to Bilingual Education: a Practitioner's Response"

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"Sociolinguistics: Contributions to Bilingual Education? a Practitioner's Response" by William G. Milán

I have a few remarks on three salient points covered by Prof. Fasold in his presentation, and then I would like to share with you some concerns of my own.

First, in the area of variation theory and second language acquisition, I offer for your consideration the growing concern of bilingual educators for the future or maintenance of the native vernaculars. Their major preoccupation at the moment, centers around what most of them consider a catastrophic event, which in fact is nothing but a natural effect of language contact. I am refering to the rapidly changing lexicon of the subordinated languages. Responding to the pressures of English, the native tongues of minority groups have picked up a massive bulk of vocabulary of English origin, especially in those domains where the use of English prevails. Such borrowings often take place at the expense of bonafide lexical items of the native tongue, and this of course is making teachers very nervous. In the United States, we have not reached the point where English has effected major morphological or phonological changes in the subordinated languages. I have recorded a few syntactic alterations in New York City Spanish, but to this day, I have not heard anything that would herald a grammatical coalescence. We need to educate the educators, so that they can learn to accept and deal with those linguistic changes that are bound to occur in a language contact situation, in a way that is professionally responsible, and pedagogically sound.

Second, in the area of the use of the vernacular languages in education, I want to congratulate Prof. Fasold in his presentation of a very neat summary

of the research done in the area. I share his concern that the apparent success of the Direct Method in several experiments may be due to other variables not present in contemporary Bilingual Education. In this sense, he echoes Campbell's statements as we heard them in the 1969 Georgetown Roundtable, when he said that the ideal conditions that exist in controlled experiments are not present in barrio schools. There, the socio-economic background of the children, the low expectations of the teachers, and the attitudes of the minority community towards the English language and those that speak it, present an entirely different set of circumstances from the ones encountered by Lambert, Tucker, and Giles in their experiments. I am no longer impressed by the statistic results of controlled experiments. All they tell me is that if you take ideal students under ideal circumstances, you will obtain ideal results. Here are a few statistics that do impress me. A certain school district presently being served by the General Assistance Center for Bilingual Education of the Northeastern region has been using the Direct Method all along. As of last June, Spanish speaking students constituted the 14.5% of the total student population. But in looking at the 1975 graduating class we find that they only constituted 4.5% of the total number of students that finished High School. Such an unfavorable disproportion seems to indicate that the drop-out rate for Spanish speaking students is three times greater than for the district as a whole. The situation is even more alarming, when we realize that out of all the Spanish speaking students that did finish High School, only one in twenty-five was reading at a 12th grade level upon graduation. We do not have enough data on the success or failure of the Native Language approach to make an adequate judgment yet. But it seems to me that the Direct Method has had plenty of time to prove its worth in American Education and that we have seen everything we need to see, to know it does not work.

Third, let's look at the area of language maintenance and shift, and its relevance to Bilingual Education. Now that Bilingual Education is in the national scene, everybody is jumping to get a piece of the action. The field of Education is beginning to resemble that of Medicine; and Bilingual Education is starting to look like the miracle drug that is going to cure all the educational problems wherever ethnolinguistic minorities are involved. We have to always remember that there are many other factors that come into play in the education of these children which are not necessarily linguistic. I recently responded to a request from a school district that claimed to have a substantial native American population, one sixth of which was supposed to be non-English dominant. After a whole week of searching for the non-English dominant children we finally came up with two. Both of them were in pre-kindergarten. Also both of them had been raised by their non-English dominant grandmother. A broader survey of the reservation community revealed that the grandparental generation was primarily non-English dominant, but that in the parental generation there was widespread fluency in both languages, as well as a noticeable trend towards English dominance. The student generation was completely English dominant, with a well defined tendency to become English monolingual. What this community wanted was a school program designed for the restoration of their native vernacular. This goal, though very commendable presents several pedagogical difficulties. First of all, we have to distinguish between a program of instruction designed to achieve educational equity through bilingual education, and a program of instruction designed to restore a vernacular that is on its way out. Bilingual education for educational equity presupposes that the child has command of certain cognitive skills in his native tongue, or that such skills can be taught to him more easily in his

Native tongue than in English. A program designed for language restoration should never be based on such an assumption. If a child had already developed such skills in his native vernacular, or has a measurable capability of acquiring them easily, then there should be no need for language restoration. Second, to apply educational equity remedies to a language restoration program, can result into serious retardation in the development of these very same skills. If an ethnolinguistic minority child is achieving at grade level in an English-speaking curriculum, and does not have the necessary linguistic skills to take on a full or even partial program of instruction in the community's native vernacular, he should not be immersed in a full scale bilingual program. Such a move would place him at a disadvantage. The student would have to learn through a language that he does not master. The situation is potentially dangerous; and the fact that it comes under the guise of ethnic pride makes it even more dangerous. To create a bilingual curriculum for ethnolinguistic minority children that are English dominant or English monolingual is in fact to create an educational inequity where one did not exist before. If a patriotic community wants to have its language restored, there are ways of doing it. It is not done through the same means used to achieve educational equity. In other words, bilingual education is not always the answer. And the very issue of language restoration per se, while it might be most commendable, cannot be considered a national priority for public education, as long as there are over six million non-English dominant children in this country who need to be in a bilingual program just to be able to catch up with their English dominant peers. Educational equity is our number one priority.

Now that we have finally gotten into the issue of equal education, it

is time for me to share with you some of my concerns about the future of bilingual education, and about the role that Sociolinguistics should play in shaping that future. One inevitable fact we are going to have to recognize is that the future of Bilingual Education as a whole is not going to be decided in the Universities nor in the educational laboratories. It is going to be decided in the courts and in the legislative chambers of this land. The evidence is right before our eyes in the Lau vs. Nichols decision, in Serna vs. Portales, in the Aspira Consent Decree, in the Massachusetts Bilingual Education Act, etc. These legal decisions make the difference between a bilingual education program that is intended to merely placate the masses, and a program truly designed to achieve an equal opportunity education. Sociolinguists, and linguists of all persuasions, should put aside their pet projects, and take a close look at what these legal decrees have to say. The strength of our research agenda should be a deliberate commitment to support the work of the lawmakers and judges that are making all the decisions that will affect the education of all these children. New research is needed as a result of these legal moves. For example, the Lau Guidelines call for a determination of language dominance based on the observation of the language used by the student both at home and among his peers in a non-classroom situation. Without an adequate description of the diglossic condition of the community--a task that can only be performed by a sociolinguist--there is no way to determine if a child's use of his native vernacular in both of these contexts is due to linguistic proficiency or to social constraints. A child may be perfectly bilingual, or even English dominant, but if he is observed using his native tongue at home and among his peers for what may be social reasons, he could be classified as non

English-dominant; and this of course would have a major impact on the selection of his program of instruction. I am therefore taking this opportunity to call upon the Center for Applied Linguistics, the National Institute of Education, and the Linguistic Society of America to join their resources and plan for the kind of research that will address the needs of Bilingual Education today, and in the years to come. I call upon all the sociolinguists who are truly interested in the success of Bilingual Education to devote their efforts not to the kind of research that will satisfy their intellectual egoes, but to the kind of research that will lend support to government officials and government structures, for they are the only ones with the power to make Bilingual Education a reality.

# ETHNOGRAPHY OF SPEAKING

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## 1. Introduction*

Sociolinguistics is one of a set of names for a field of study which is concerned with the relationship among language, society, and culture. (The name chosen as label for this interdisciplinary field often depends on which parent discipline is considered the more basic or primary. Thus sociolinguistics for many people indicates an orientation toward linguistics, while labels like linguistic anthropology and language and culture indicate an orientation toward anthropology.) Ethnography of speaking is a recent approach or perspective within this more general field.

The basic input and motivation for the ethnography of speaking is ethnography. For this reason it seems worthwhile to spend a little time discussing what ethnography is. Ethnography can be viewed both theoretically, as a concept or approach within anthropology, and methodologically, as a way of doing research. Ethnography is that branch of anthropology which has to do with the description of the way(s) people live and behave in particular communities and settings. Thus: the ethnography of the Navajo, of the Sioux, of American Blacks, of Mexican Americans in East Austin, of classrooms in Oakland, or of families in Japan. Traditionally, ethnographies describe general patterns in the way of life of a group of people -- subsistence, dress, child-rearing, religion, world view, etc. But attention has also been focused on more specific or narrow foci, such as classrooms, bars, or families, as well as on groups and settings in our own society. Ironically, traditional ethnographies tended not to deal with language and speech.

In recent years, some anthropologists have tried to be more precise about the concept of ethnography. They have defined it as 'what one needs

to know in order to get along in a particular community' -- whether the 'one' is a member of the community or an outside researcher. This definition should not be taken to imply that the members of communities are homogeneous with regard to their beliefs and behaviors. In fact, while in the past, anthropologists have tended to seek out relatively small and homogeneous communities for their research, more and more ethnography is being carried out in complex, heterogeneous societies and ethnographers are making it their business to describe the nature of the heterogeneity and variation.

Methodologically, ethnography offers a particular way of doing research: participant-observation. This involves living in a community as both participant and observer, discovering and describing by means of careful, intense, and direct interaction, just what one does need to know in order to get along in the community.

Ethnography of speaking has to do with what one needs to know with regard to language and speech in order to get along in a particular community. This involves of course the rules of grammar (phonology, syntax, semantics) of the languages which are spoken in the community. But grammar as usually conceived is but a small part of community members' competence, especially if this competence is viewed as speaking competence, or, to use an increasingly popular term, communicative competence. Thus one has to know when to talk, when to be silent, how much to talk. One has to know when and how to be fluent, glib, or exaggerated in speech, when and how to be curt, abbreviated, to the point. Or, how to talk to one's parents, boss, closest friend, lover, baby, or a stranger. Or know to be formal or informal, polite or impolite, ceremonial or casual. Every community has rules for how to greet, take leave, converse, agree, disagree, show

thanks, insult. And everyone learns attitudes toward languages and styles of speaking -- toward one's own, toward the standard of the community, toward those of the more and the less privileged members of the community, toward those of outsiders.

These are some of the matters that the ethnography of speaking is concerned with. It cannot be overstressed that none of these can be attended to by looking at language alone, outside of the context of its use. Rather, serious attention must be paid to social and cultural factors as they relate to speech. It is these (ethnographic) factors which underlie and provide the basis for an understanding of patterns of speaking. Some of these patterns may be universal, especially if studied at a very abstract level; but often patterns of speaking vary from group to group, society to society, situation to situation. Relevant socio-cultural context is often fine-grained and subtle. One of the most important contributions the ethnography of speaking can make to educators is the existence of social and cultural diversity in patterns of speaking (in addition to the diversity of language(s) per se), diversity which often exists within a single society (especially a complex one such as ours). More particularly, ethnography of speaking argues for bilingual education programs which are ethnographically rooted, which seriously build in recognition of and consideration of the speaking competence (attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors) of the members of the community from whom the bilingual program is derived and for whom it is aimed. Knowledge of the language spoken in the community (Tagalog, Korean, Spanish, etc.) is but one aspect of this competence.

## 2. Components of Speech

There is no single, best way to do an ethnography of speaking. The most useful, general approach, both theoretically and methodologically, is in terms of what Hymes, in a series of articles, has called the components of speech. Viewed in relation to speech events, often the central or primary focus of ethnographies of speaking, these components are the factors which must be accounted for in an adequate ethnographic description of speech. They are presented here, essentially as they are spelled out in Hymes (1972).

Setting: What are the relevant times and places in which speech occurs? These can be viewed relatively concretely and specifically as, e.g., the house, the street, the church, the factory, 8:00 a.m., noon (settings which might be relevant in particular societies). Or they can be conceived in terms of more general, perhaps more basic dimensions, such as formal/informal, work/play and recreation, personal/transactional, ceremonial/colloquial, daytime/nighttime, planting season/harvesting season.

Participants: Who are the relevant participants in speech? These can be viewed social interactionally, in terms of such participant-categories as sender, receiver, addressor, addressee, and audience, or social structurally, such as representatives of particular socio-economic, kin, caste, or political group. These, once again, can be viewed in such specific terms as mother, father, child, chief, boss, or worker, or in terms of more general dimensions and oppositions, such as intimate/distant, in-group/out-group.

Ends: What are the ends, goals, and outcomes of the speech act or event -- to win over, convince, insult, put down, gain information, state a case, etc. This relates in part to what linguists and philosophers concerned with pragmatics call the 'force' of an utterance; in part to Erving

Goffman's recent attention to frame or point of view as literal, for play, rehearsal, imitation, criticism, etc.

Act Sequence: What is the structure of the speech event, morphologically and syntactically, i.e., what is its sequential structure? Ethnographers of speaking have viewed the speech act as the minimal unit in speech, speech acts occurring as parts of speech events, whose larger context is the speech situation. This is probably best made clear by means of concrete examples. Thus, from our own society, a speech act such as a joke can occur in a speech event such as a conversation in a speech situation such as a cocktail party. Or a single greeting (a speech act) is part of a greeting exchange (speech event) at a professional meeting (speech situation). A complete description of an act sequence involves both a statement of paradigmatic choices within particular slots (the different ways one person may greet another) and a statement of the syntagmatic or syntactic arrangement of acts within events and situations.

Key: What is the manner or tone in which speech is delivered or performed? Key can be conceived in such (para)linguistic terms as rapidly, slowly, liltingly, rhythmically, or haltingly, or, again in terms of Goffman's recent conception of frame or point of view, by focusing on how key relates to the way in which the utterance is to be taken -- literally, seriously, mockingly, playfully, etc.

Instrumentalities: What are the linguistic resources available for use in the group or community? Instrumentalities are both the linguistic varieties — dialects, registers, styles, jargons, argots, etc. and the possible channels or means of transmission -- oral, written, whistled, drummed, gestured, etc. It is important to stress that communities are typically heterogeneous with regard to linguistic resources and that the

nature of this heterogenity varies greatly from place to place. It can vary from slight, statistically measurable shifts in pronunciation characteristic of speech communities in the urban western world, through choices in terms of reference and address (choices which are probably socially significant everywhere in the world but seem to reach a height of elaboration and subtlety in Asia), to whole language differences, such as Spanish/English bilingualism found in several areas of the U.S. or the multilingualism typical of such border areas as the European Alps. The most dramatic instance of multilingualism is no doubt the Northwest Amazon area in which Indians speak four, five, or more languages, without any reading, writing, or official government educational system.

Norms of Interaction: What are the interactional norms holding between and among individuals as they interact verbally. Some examples of this relatively little studied component are: speakers must agree or disagree, speakers must speak one at a time without interrupting one another or speakers must speak in unison or in contrapuntal fashion, speakers must in some way respond to requests, etc. Recent work of sociologists focusing on the analysis of conversation has shed light on speaking norms of interaction in our own society.

Genres: What are the classes or types of speech that exist in the group or society, such that a given bit of speech can be labelled or at least understood as a (or a portion of a) poem, story, proverb, speech, greeting, joke, or sermon. One of the tasks of the ethnography of speaking has been to uncover native classifications of verbal genres, whether these are explicit or implicit. These classifications may pattern along such lines as major/minor genres, ceremonial/casual genres, genres characteristic of men/genres characteristic of women, or serious genres/playful genres.

With regard to the components of speaking just presented, two points should be made. The first is the immediately obvious application, or rather implication, for education, especially bilingual education. This is to indicate that the name and most of the effort of bilingual education programs, with regard to both research and implementation, has been in the area of the component: instrumentalities, and with regard to instrumentalities, the focus has been on a single, major language used in the community, whether this be Spanish, Tagalog, or Mandarin. But it should be apparent that each of the components listed above implies potential differences between one community and other. Thus community A may differ from community B not only in that different languages are spoken in each, but in that the relevant settings for speech are different in each, participants and their relation to speech are different in each, the ends or goals or possible outcomes of speech are different in each, the structure of speech acts and events are different in each, the possible keys are different in each, the range and type of linguistic varieties and channels are different in each, the norms of interaction used in speech are different in each. I stress that these are POTENTIAL differences. Only careful research, community by community, will determine for which components and in what ways such potential differences are realized. But, given that the basic goal of bilingual education programs has been stated as to give the child the opportunity to begin his education where 'he or she is' and not where the teacher is or where the dominant majority of the society is, then educators must be aware of the fact that, with regard to language and speech, the difference between where the child is and where the teacher is does not reside solely in a different language spoken, but in differences

in each of the components of speaking. I am not recommending that such programs be rewritten such that they are 'bi-speaking' in that they alter all components of speaking; my task here is not to make such recommendations. Rather I want merely to stress, in ways that I feel have not yet been strongly enough stressed, that there is much more to speaking than abstract linguistic patterns. Failure to comprehend this can lead to misunderstanding and failure on the part of children in classrooms, tragically so if this occurs in the context of bilingual programs, with the best interests of the child, through respect for his or her native language, in mind.

A second point to be made with regard to the components of speaking is that ethnographers of speaking do not regard their task as a mere mechanical answering of the above questions concerning components. (Nonetheless, full sets of empirically based, carefully analyzed answers to the questions listed above, for any society, including our own, would be invaluable.) Rather, the components are used as a guide to the discovery and description of rules for speaking, of individual and societal conceptions and theories of speaking, of actual speech behavior, all understood in terms of communicative competence and creativity.

3. Principle Concerns of the Ethnography of Speaking

In recent years, a number of foci or concerns have emerged within the ethnography of speaking, reflecting in part the conceptions and patterns of speaking found in various societies and in part the interests of particular researchers. I will discuss these foci one by one, trying to point out studies or issues within them which seem particularly relevant for education, especially bilingual education.

## I. The Speech Community

From the point of view of ethnography of speaking, speech communities are typically heterogeneous, the heterogeneity being organized in terms of shared rules for speaking, shared interpretations of speech performance, and shared socio-cultural understandings and presuppositions with regard to speech. The work of William Labov and his associates has been most important for careful and empirical descriptions of linguistic heterogeneity in our own society. Ethnographers of speaking have investigated speech communities cross-culturally, looking for similarities and differences. Gumperz (1968) suggests a typology of speech communities related to level of technological development. Speech communities differ from one another in various ways -- with regard to the nature and relationship to one another of the linguistic resources, with regard to the use of these resources, and with regard to the attitudes in the community toward these resources and their use. Of particular interest to ethnographers are the rules of usage and attitudes. These of course should be of interest to educators as well. One situation found in many speech communities in the world (including some in our own) is characteristic of speakers of minority languages or dialects and in border areas. In such communities, speakers often switch from one language, dialect, or style to another, within single utterances or short spates of talk, the switches or shifts usually associated with subtle shifts of meaning and intention. The occurrence of such 'code-switching' behavior should not be viewed as abnormal or as a sign or imperfect language learning; rather it is a natural, creative, and fairly common development in speech communities around the world.

With regard to multilingualism more generally, educators interested in the learning and teaching of language, cannot help but be impressed by

the Northwest Amazon region of South America, where children, without the aid of schools to teach them to read and write, learn four or five languages without seeming difficulty and often continue to learn others as they get older. Researchers in this region have pointed out the ethnographic factors underlying this language situation -- the function of distinct languages as verbal badges of distinct social groups and the rule of linguistic exogamy regulating marriage, children thus always being raised by parents speaking different languages. Of course, individual abilities and love of language learning and prestige attached to linguistic ability are important. (See Jackson 1974; Sorenson 1972.)

II. Community Ground Rules for Speaking

Related to the notion of speech community as a social grouping in which heterogeneous linguistic resources are organized by means of shared rules for speaking and interpretations of speech are the basic sociocultural themes and principles that underlie speech and in whose matrix speech must be understood. Both anthropologists and linguists long operated according to an implicit assumption of linguistic, cultural, and social homogeneity, in which a single language was associated with a single culture and a single society. Ethnographers of speaking, on the basis of empirical research, have chipped away at this simplistic assumption. (See Hymes 1968.) Thus the work of Susan Philips shows that on American Indian reservations in which the 'native' language is for the most part no longer in current use among children, Indian ground rules for speaking persist, thus causing potential misunderstandings and breakdowns in communication in schools between students and teachers, both speaking but in sharing basic rules for use and interpretation but

sharing assumptions about such basic types of communication as how to greet, take leave, begin and end participation in events, interrupt, be polite, and show deference. Bilingual education hopefully will avoid repeating the error of assuming an isomorphism of language, culture, and society. The facts are much more complex.

A related and important point is that while at first glance it may seem as though the more unlike one another two communities are linguistically and culturally, the more difficult communication will be between members of each, this is not necessarily so. To the contrary, it is when two communities share certain features but differ in others, when there are overlaps in communicative resources and interpretation, that the greatest potential for misunderstandings and breakdowns lies. This is precisely the significance of Philips' findings for bilingual, bicultural education. It might seem as though no bilingual education program were needed on Indian reservations in which English was already the medium of communication among children. The mistake in such a view of course is that there is much more to communication than language spoken and two communities can have very different communicative ground rules while sharing the same language. Karl Reisman, in his work on the Caribbean island of Antigua, has shown that overlaps in the communicative resources of a 'dominating' group and a 'dominated' group in a community can lead to a kind of communicative 'masking' by the dominated group, a hiding and denial of the expressive features which mark an individual as a member of the dominated group and which display allegiance to the values of this group. Caribbean Black communicative behavior, Reisman and others argue, involves a constant interplay of Anglo oriented and Black oriented communicative patterns. Reisman also points to the fact that Antiguan (and more

generally Caribbean) conversational structure is quite different from that of middle class Anglos in that it involves a constant interrupting and overlapping of talk, a pattern which he labels contrapuntal. Hopefully educators and researchers in bilingual education would want to learn about and make use of use speaking patterns as expressive masking and contrapuntal conversation, if found in the communities in which they work.

Another type of community ground rule for speaking is that which distinguishes men's speech from women's speech in many societies. Interesting in this regard is the research of Elinor Keenan among the Malagasy of the Vakinankaratra (in Madagascar), where women are typically blunt and direct in speech, while men are more allusive, metaphorical, indirect. There are advantages and disadvantages for both men and women in this situation. But the implications for bilingual education are that attention must be paid to sex-role differences in speech; some educators may feel that the results of such research argue for different educational techniques or programs being more relevant for boys or for girls within a single community. Thus recent research in the ethnography of speaking might seem to indicate that the dominant U.S. educational programs are more likely to succeed among Black girls than among Black boys, given ground rules for speaking operative in Black communities. (See work of Abrahams, Kochman, and Labov.)

III. Speech Acts, Events, and Situations

Since its inception, ethnography of speaking has focused on the speech event. Current interest falls mainly in two directions:

1. the description of native categories and conceptions of speech acts and events. Roger Abrahams and Richard Bauman (1971), investigating

speaking patterns on the Caribbean island of St. Vincent, show, by means of an analysis of native terms for talk, the symbolic, evaluative, and expressive dimensions of speaking. Brian Stross examines 416 terms for talk among the Tzeltal Indians of Chiapas, Mexico, the terms providing intriguing insight into Tzeltal concepts of language, speech, and communication. Thus, there are single terms meaning each of the following: 'talk within the heart (serious thought on a subject)', 'drunken talk', 'speech coming from a person who is lying on his side', 'talk concerning the carrying of water', speech in which words from other languages are mixed, salted, or sprinkled', 'the talk of a person who was talking to another but who has been pushed aside', 'inciteful talk', 'talk that has petered out because speaker or speakers have already talked a lot and are tired of talking', 'speech of poor people', 'speech of an adolescent', 'speech occuring on or concerning the day Thursday', 'speech of a hungry person'.

Roger Abrahams notes striking consistency through space and time in Black speech acts and events and the dimensions underlying them. At the same time, there is much variation in the terms used to label these acts and events. (See also Kochman 1972, Labov 1972a, Mitchell-Kernan 1972). Abrahams finds that the dimensions underlying Black terms for speaking are usually social interactional, strategic, and rhetorical, and involve winning others over, succeeding in verbal competition, and in general, performing well verbally, all crucial aspects of Black culture.

2. the formal description of speech acts and events. Anne Salmond has written a 'grammatical' description of the Maori ritual of encounter; Judith Irvine, of Wolof greetings. Explicit formal rules for speech acts and events bring out aspects of the relationship of speech to social life that would not be apparent in informal, causal discussion. Thus both

Salmond and Irvine demonstrate that the speech events they describe involve social interactional strategies in which individuals maneuver for position. In the course of this maneuvering, both the ultimate social relationship between the individuals and the structure of the speech event itself emerge. In our own society, serious attention has been paid to the structure of such speech acts and events as conversation, joke and storytelling, greeting, and the formulation of time and place by a group of sociologists calling themselves variously ethnomethodologists, social interactionists, or conversational analysts. (See the work of Sacks, Schegloff, and associates, especially the collection edited by Sudnow; Goffman; and papers by Garfinkel, Sacks, and Schegloff in Gumperz and Hymes, ed., 1972.)

Of relevance to education, especially bilingual education, is the following: socities, communities, or groups can differ from one another in essentially two ways with regard to speech acts and events:

1. the two communities may have different speech acts and events. Thus ceremonial dialogue, between political or religious leaders, before an audience, found among the Cuna Indians of Panama and other tropical forest South American Indian groups, is not found in our society. It is of course important for educators to know what speech acts and events are found in particular communities as well as which are not. Thomas Kochman (1972) makes recommendations to educators on the basis of an analysis of Black speech events. There are speech acts and events which may be second nature to middle class Anglo American children before they come to school and yet which pose great problems for children of other ethnic and socio-economic groups in our society. We know very little, for example, about the ethnic and social distribution of the type of questioning routines used commonly in American classrooms as both a teaching and a testing device.

2. the two communities may share the same speech (or communicative) act or event, but differ in its structure, use, function, or interpretation. Thus, in North America, silence is communicative for both Indians and for non-Indians. But the functions and meanings of silence for Indians are quite different from those of non-Indians. (See Keith Basso's analysis of the uses of silence among Apaches.) Silence is used, for example, as a form of greeting when two related individuals have not seen one another for some time; this is precisely an occasion when much talk and surely not silence would be expected among Anglos. There is then potential for misunderstanding, hostility, anger, and breakdowns in communication between teachers and students. Similarly Susan Philips (1975) points out that while both Indians and non-Indians have puns and put each other on, they differ in the contexts and ways in which they perform these communicative acts. Thus Indian students pun in classrooms and put on other students and teachers in ways not considered appropriate by Anglo teachers. This is another example of a case in which partial similarity between two communicative patterns can lead to greater misunderstanding than total dissimilarity.

IV. Verbal Art and Speech Play

Verbal art and especially speech play have been relatively little studied by anthropologists and linguists, the description of the esthetic and the play elements in language and speech usually considered marginal to these fields. Folklorists have tended to collect texts and not to describe actual performance and use of the genres they collect. There is then an implicit lack of interest, a playing down of the importance of creativity in verbal art and especially of forms of language and speech play, such as play languages (pig latin, op talk, abi dabi), puns,

jokes, and riddles. In point of fact, recent research indicates a rich variety of verbal art around the world, intimately related to the ethnography of speaking in that adequate description necessitates attention to all of the components of speaking outlined above. (For the relationship of speech play to language learning and to verbal art, see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (ed.) in press.)

Educators in bilingual programs would benefit from knowledge of what members of the communities in which they work consider verbally artistic, what the range and types of verbal art are, and what forms of verbal art and speech play are known to children. Why couldn't educational programs creatively exploit the rich verbal art found among Black adolescents that has been described by various researchers. Recent research indicates that speech play among children often functions in providing children means of manipulating language and speech as a way of exercising and preparing for adult language and speech behavior. Knowledge of the forms and contexts of such speech play might be relevant and applicable in bilingual education. (The potential applications of children's speech play and verbal art for education are the motivation for the project in children's folklore currently being carried out under the auspices of the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory in Austin, Texas, by Richard Bauman and associates.)

It seems worthwhile at this point to summarize the general discussion of ethnography of speaking by means of three observations, two of which are relevant to bilingual education and the third, while a critique of ethnography of speaking, is ultimately related to bilingual education as well.

1. From the point of view of social anthropology and ethnography, the phenomenon of bilingualism might be viewed as relatively superficial and epiphenomenal. Multilingualism, or at least the existence of a heterogeneity or variety of styles and ways of speaking is no doubt a socio-cultural universal. Differences lie in what the particular linguistic expressions of this diversity are and in their functions and uses in social and cultural life. One of the major concerns of the ethnography of speaking is the role of linguistic diversity in the expression of basic cultural themes and social-interactional norms and strategies.

2. Careful attention should be given to the interpretation of the BI of words like bilingual and bicultural. The actual world of the interaction and interpenetration of language, culture, and society is much more complicated and creative than a mechanical label like the prefix bi- would indicate. The communities around the world which have been called bilingual are quite diverse, especially when one looks at them from the point of view of ethnography of speaking.

3. Ethnography of speaking might be criticized for tending to focus on the most striking, dramatic speech patterns around the world and for focusing on societies other than our own. There is no doubt a need for research, including and especially in our own society, dealing with types and patterns of speaking of all kinds, ranging from the ritual and ceremonial to the everyday and seemingly ordinary.

4. An Extended Example: The San Blas Cuna

I have thus far discussed the ethnography of speaking in somewhat general terms, indicating major areas of research within it, drawing on particular empirical studies. I would like now to draw on my own research and sketch an ethnography of speaking of a single society, the Cuna Indians of St. Blas, Panama. This sketch hopefully will provide a more complete picture of what ethnographers of speaking do, as well, perhaps, as suggest the relevance of this approach for bilingual education. In fact, the government of Panama is currently in the process of initiating an official bilingual education program among the Cuna.

The Cuna Indians live on a series of island and mainland communities on the Northeast Coast of Panama, in the nearby jungle on the other side of the San Blas Cordillera, and in a few villages in Colombia. While what is most striking to an outside visitor to the Cuna are the colorful reverse-applique blouses (molas) of the women, what most impresses a sociolinguist or ethnographer of speaking is the Cuna's great love of and focus on talk. Speaking, chanting, and shouting permeate Cuna life in every way. In this egalitarian society, no one is born into a position of authority. Rather individuals become chiefs, medicine men, curing specialists, ritual ceremonialists, etc. on the basis of achieved, acquired knowledge and public demonstration of verbal ability.

In addition to casual, colloquial talk among the Cuna (of which there is plenty -- the Cuna in general love to talk), there are three types of ceremonial speech among the Cuna, the three associated with the three basic ceremonial realms -- the political-religious, the medicinal-curing, and puberty rites for young girls. Politics takes place almost exclusively in the large, centrally located congress hall. Here, several nights a week, from a hammock in the center of the hall, chiefs perform long, ceremonial chants in the form of a dialogue between two chiefs, in a special, highly metaphorical language, which is then translated and interpreted for the audience of men and women by a chief's spokesman. The chants are mythical, historical, and religious in nature; they might also particular voyages by chiefs or even his dreams. But their ultimate function is social -- advice to the community concerning the proper way to behave, on the basis of lessons learned from mythical and historical figures, ancestors, or travel or dream experiences. In this same congress hall, on evenings on which such chanting does not take place, the men of the village gather to report on and to discuss their work and experiences, solve problems such as theft and business enterprises, or, on rare occasions when there are no such village 'problems', to discuss ideas, tell stories, and joke. The language used in such congress meetings is more colloquial than that of the chiefs' chanting, but is still in a congress speech-making style. In both congress chanting and congress speaking, the focus is on creative, adaptive speech. Chants and speeches are not memorized texts, but are rather created on the spot by drawing on familiar themes and metaphors and elaborating them to fit the subject and/or problem at hand.

The second major ceremonial tradition among the Cuna is that of curing. Cuna curing involves essentially two aspects -- the administration of medicine and the performance of a curing text. Speech is important in both aspects. Before the medicine is administered, it must be advised by the medicine man who gathered and prepared it, the advice being in the form of a spoken text addressed to the medicine. Curing texts are performed in the treatment of such infirmities as headaches, extreme fever, difficulty in childbirth, and epilepsy; they are also performed in the context of elaborate rituals to ward off or fight epidemics or other mass or community-wide diseases or problems. They are addressed not to the sick person, but to wooden stick dolls (typically placed under the hammock of the patient), who are advised in the performance of the text to struggle against the forces of evil. The medicinal advising, the curing, and related texts (there are texts used for hunting, preventing snake bites, and other practical matters) are in a language quite different from ordinary, colloquial Cuna, and quite different as well from the language of congress chanting. The differences are phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical, the lexical being the most crucial, both to the Cuna and to the outside analyst. They are fixed texts, and must be learned by rote, line by line, memorization. The texts are furthermore said to be 'spoken' when performed for their primary purpose of advising medicine or curing. They are 'chanted' when performed for such secondary purposes as teaching, learning, practicing, performing for one's own or others' pleasure. The variety of contexts in which these texts are performed for secondary purposes is an indication of the need for as well as the pleasure the Cuna take in demonstrating speaking abilities, and, more generally, the vitality of Cuna verbal artistic traditions.

The third Cuna ceremonial tradition is that of the kantule, the master of ceremonies at young girls' puberty rites festivals. While a young girl's hair is ceremonially cut in a hut built specially for her, members of the village celebrate in the enormous chicha (native fermented drink) house, drinking to the point of extreme drunkenness (the drinking of intoxicating beverages being strictly prohibited on all other occasions), while the kantule and his assistants 'shout' long texts addressed to a long flute on which they simultaneously blow. The kantule's texts are fixed and must be memorized; they last one, two, or three days. Obviously individuals must study for many years in order to learn them. They are in a language distinct phonologically, morphologically, syntactically, and lexically from any of the other languages discussed thus far, once again lexicon being the primary marker. And again, these texts are performed for other than their primary purpose of advising the flute; they are also performed for learning, teaching, practicing, and showing off; on these occasions they are not 'shouted' but 'chanted'.

The basic Cuna ways of speaking were described in terms of relevant components of speaking -- setting (congress, evening, sick person's home, chicha house), participants (chief, chief's spokesman, audience, various medicinal and curing text knowers, stick dolls, kantule, flute), ends (primary -- advising, curing, directing puberty rites; secondary -- learning, teaching, practicing, performing for pleasure), act structure (ceremonial dialogue, interpretation), instrumentalities (various colloquial and ceremonial languages; channels -- chanting, speaking, shouting), genres (congress chants, curing and related texts, kantule's texts). Another perspective on the Cuna ethnography of speaking is in terms of

certain basic patterns according to which speaking is organized. Thus the distinction between fixed, memorized speech on the one hand and creative, adaptive speech on the other, both patterns highly valued among the Cuna, but seen as appropriate for different purposes, contexts, and social roles. Or the conversation or dialogue between two persons in front of an audience, found in both ceremonial and casual contexts. Or the public giving of advice, whether to members of a community in general, to particular individuals such as new chiefs, married couples, or children, or to such objects as stick dolls or flutes. Or the importance of translation and interpretation, again occurring in both ceremonial and informal contexts. Or public reporting, whether of dreams, local experiences, or travel. Finally, learning and teaching are highly valued and occur frequently, among the young as well as the old.

A bilingual education program among the Cuna, utilizing insights from Cuna ethnography of speaking/first of all take advantage of the fact that teaching in both Spanish and Cuna would be appreciated by members of the community, as both languages are highly valued and respected. Cuna ceremonial traditions could be respected by preparing texts in Spanish and in Cuna, relating Cuna history, myth, etc. Both older and younger Cuna have voiced support for such recording and transmission of Cuna tradition. Some of the basic Cuna speaking patterns and structures could be used in classrooms — students could be called on both to memorize long texts and to creatively invent new ones, two students could be asked to perform long conversations in front of the class as audience, public reports and translations and interpretations (in both Spanish and Cuna) could be regular classroom activities. And of course, in all of this, the traditional Cuna methods of learning and teaching could be utilized.

5. A note on ethnography of speaking vs. ethnography of communication

It should be obvious that ethnographers of speaking do not believe that an ethnographic approach to communication should be limited to language and speech. Rather all means and kinds of communication, verbal and non-verbal must be accounted for. Thus both terms: ethnography of speaking and ethnography of communication have been used as labels for the perspective described in this paper. On the other hand, most (but not all) of the ethnographic research carried out so far has focused on speaking. This is the reason for the title of this paper. At the same time, in recent years, there has been an abundance of research in non-verbal communication of all kinds, within a variety of disciplines. (See Key 1975). There will no doubt be more from the ethnographic perspective as well.

6. Brief History and Bibliography

The ethnography of speaking first emerged as a named field of inquiry in 1962, with the publication of Dell Hymes' essay, 'The Ethnography of Speaking'. This essay identified the need for an ethnographic perspective toward the study of language and speech and outlined a framework for its study. In 1964, John Gumperz and Dell Hymes edited a special publication of the American Anthropologist on The Ethnography of Communication, a collection of essays by a group of scholars interested in studying language as situated within communicative events. A special issue of the Journal of Social Issues on 'Problems of Bilingualism' edited by John Macnamara in 1967 contains three articles by ethnographers of speaking -- Susan Ervin-Tripp, John Gumperz, and Dell Hymes. The growing

interest in sociolinguistics and ethnography of speaking, combined with concomitant interest in language learning and acquisition, led to a field guide, edited by Dan Slobin and written by a faculty-student team at the University of California, Berkeley: A Field Manual for Cross-Cultural Study of the Acquisition of Communicative Competence (second draft, July, 1967). The Manual is designed on the premise that 'language acquisition studies should be broadened to include not only the traditional formal core of language, but competence in the use of language'. In 1972 Gumperz and Hymes edited a sequel to their 1964 volume, entitled: Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication, the title indicating the rapprochement the authors felt to exist between sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking and the ethnography of communication. This book included papers reprinted from other sources as well as new papers in sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking. Also published in 1972 was Studies in Social Interaction, edited by David Sudnow, a collection of ethnomethodological studies devoted most centrally to conversation in social interaction. The ethnography of speaking is also prominent in Thomas Kochman (ed.), Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America, 1972. The influence of the ethnography of speaking perspective on folklore and the increasing relationship between sociolinguistics, the ethnography of speaking, and folklore is reflected in two recent collections -- Americo Paredes and Richard Bauman (eds.), Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, 1972 and Kenneth Goldstein and Dan Ben-Amos (eds.), Folklore: Performance and Communication, 1975. The most recent publication centrally concerned with the ethnography of speaking is Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer (eds.), Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking, 1974. This book contains papers reporting on

empirical research in the ethnography of speaking carried out in various parts of the world. In the next several years, there will probably appear complete ethnographies of speaking of particular societies and communities, written by the contributors to this volume as well as others.

There is no textbook in the ethnography of speaking. The best way to get an introduction to the field is through such collections of readings as Bauman and Sherzer, Giglioli, Gumperz, and Hymes, and Pride and Holmes. A new journal edited by Dell Hymes, Language in Society, often includes articles written from the perspective of the ethnography of speaking. With regard to education, a most useful book is Courtney B. Cazden, Vera P. John, and Dell Hymes (eds.), Functions of Language in the Classroom, 1972. In this book, the relevance of the ethnography of speaking for education is discussed by Hymes in his introduction and exemplified by articles dealing with American Indian, Black, Chicano, and Hawaiian communities. Several of the papers in Roger D. Abrahams and Rudolph C. Troike (eds.), Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education, 1972, are also written from the perspective of the ethnography of speaking.

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# THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SPEAKING AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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The following remarks on the relevance of the Ethnography of Speaking to Bilingual Education are made from the point of view of a participant-observer in a Chicano speech community of Texas.

It seems obvious that bilingual education programs have been mainly concerned with only one of the Components of Speech, that of Instrumentalities, or the linguistic resources available for use in the community. Furthermore, the focus has been not only in a single language (English or Spanish) but in the standard variety of that language, which is not the primary variety used for everyday communication in these communities. Thus, in a Chicano speech community such as East Austin, Texas, a simple request such as "pass me the newspaper" can be expressed in the six following ways:

(1) Pásame el periódico.

(2) Pásame [páHame] el periódico [pedióriko].

(3) Pásame [páHame] el papel.

(4) Pásame [páHame] el papiro.

(5) Pásame [páHame] el paper.

(6) Pass me the paper.

Data on language varieties in use in this community indicate thus that these speakers possess a language repertoire that includes English and at least four varieties of Spanish. The first sentence may be used by a first generation speaker or by a younger speaker who has been exposed to a more formal kind of Spanish, the Northern Mexican Spanish variety. This

is the formal variety of the language, spoken by educated Northern Mexican nationals and used in text-books aimed at teaching the Spanish language. Sentence (2) may be used by the majority of the speakers living in this community. It is the Popular Spanish variety which shares most of its phonological and morphosyntactic features with the informal variety of Spanish used by some educated LatinAmerican speakers in informal situations and by workers and peasants in most situations. In this sentence, the phoneme /s/ in certain positions especially in intervocalic position is aspirated to /H/ and the lexical item periódico undergoes metathesis and changes to pediórico.

Many of the features that characterize Popular Spanish have been analyzed as due to English interference; they can be found, however, in many parts of Spanish-speaking countries where there is little or not contact with English. They should be viewed rather as part of a macrodialect of the Spanish language. Sentence (3) undergoes a lexical change in which the term papel is used with the meaning of the English word paper (newspaper). Español Mixtureado (one of the terms used in the community for the variety of Spanish influenced by English in various ways) is a variety especially popular among young speakers. It reflects such English influence as relexification (taipiar from English to type) and the borrowing of some syntactic constructions (Es mi favorito color for Es mi color favorito). Sentence (4) is marked

by the word papiro, characteristic of the variety called Caló or Pachuquismos and used especially by young male Chicanos. Caló shares phonological, and morphosyntactic features with the other linguistic varieties but has a unique vocabulary of its own. It is predominantly an intra-group variety. Sentence (5) is the result of the use of these four varieties together with English which produces the style or mode of communication known as Code-switching, the constant alternation of the two languages by single speakers. It is an important means of communication and expression for young Chicanos. Sentence (6) is uttered completely in English.

The first step in planning a bilingual education program should be to undertake ethnographically based research in order to determine the exact sociolinguistic make-up of Chicano communities. After this has been established, the variety or varieties of one language to be used should be discussed. If 'Chicano Spanish' is to be used one must define what is meant by this label, which usually covers a range of language varieties such as those specified above. This is something that has not been considered at all in bilingual education efforts.

Code-switching, for instance, the constant alternation of English and Spanish within the sentence or between sentences, by the same speaker and in the same context, is not even allowed in the classrooms in many schools, although it is perhaps the most spontaneous ans natural mode of

communication for young Chicanos. If we keep telling students that they should not alternate between the two languages, we are actually telling them that there is something wrong with their culture, with the way their parents, brothers and sisters speak, in the home, the neighborhood, and almost everywhere Chicanos interact with other Chicanos.

Educators, obviously, show resistance to the idea of allowing Code-switching in the classroom as they think that truly bilingual education programs ought to allow the children to develop their languages as separate modes of communication. Some of these educators (González, 1974) think that the danger in using Code-switching in the classroom will be that the child will revert to the stronger of the two languages and the teacher will not be able to pinpoit those linguistic areas in which the child needs help. On the other hand, as Sherzer (1975) points out. if bilingual education has as a goal to start the child where he or she is and not where the teacher or the dominant society is, then we must at least discuss the possibility of using Code-switching as a viable means of communication in the classroom setting.

Gumperz and Hernández (1973) have also noted that because bilinguals and bidialectals rely heavily on Code-switching as a verbal startegy, they are especially sensitive to the relationship between language and context. It would seem, therefore, that they learn best under conditions of maximal contextual reinforcement. The problem I see here is that these issues: different linguistic varieties,

different community ground rules for speaking, etc., are not even considered for discussion in teacher in-service programs, or in meetings of those who are responsible for the establishment of bilingual education programs.

If we accept a basic sociolinguistic principle, that native communicative appropriateness involves drawing upon a repertoire of linguistic alternates, utilizing in each instance that which is appropriate to the needs of the students, then perhaps some of these alternates ought to be considered in one way or another as mediums of instruction and in the writing of educational materials. An educational program which assumes that classrooms are linguistically, culturally and socially homogeneous, that all students can benefit from the same teaching styles and mediums of instruction, will not be successful.

Linguistic heterogeneity is the rule rather than the exception in classrooms throughout the Southwest. When the time has come to determine the mother tongue or the primary variety spoken by Chicano children, one has often found that making such a determination is not an easy task. There are Spanish-speaking migrant children who come from rural areas, second and third generation speakers who seem to have Code-switching as a primary variety, and children who are already English-speaking but possess a receptive competence in Spanish.

The heterogeneous sociolinguistic composition of classrooms in Chicano communities of the Southwest has to be

acknowledge as the same program will not be successful with all the groups of children present in these classrooms: (1) Monolingual Spanish-speaking children, (2) Bilingual children who are equally proficient in both languages, (3) Bilingual children whose primary variety seems to be Code-switching, (4) English-speaking children who possess receptive competence in Spanish, and (5) Monolingual English-speaking children. It needs to be pointed out that, as soon as the monolingual Spanish-speaking child acquires enough English vocabulary, he, too, acquires the rules for switching codes.

A bilingual-bicultural program designed to account for language diversity in the Southwest should not treat Chicano communities as linguistically homogeneous. A word of caution must be inserted in talking about the Chicano community of the Southwest. Even in a single city, such as Austin, there seem to be very subtle empirical differences between two Chicano communities such as East and South Austin, in regard to their linguistic resources and their functions. The ethnic and socio-economic composition of these communities differ. The South Austin community includes more lower middle class inhabitants who interact more with Anglos and Blacks than people in East Austin do. The East Austin community is composed mainly of working-class Chicanos, the only Anglos are those who own some shops in the area but live elsewhere. As a result of these differences, the handling of the linguistic varieties is different; and speakers from East

Austin state, for example, that Chicanos from South Austin sound like Anglos when speaking Spanish and therefore are more "agringados". It would seem that Chicanos in South Austin are more proficient in English as a result of a more mixed population, less economic exploitation and more contact with other ethnic groups in schools.

Chicano communities of the Río Grande Valley may also be different from those of Austin in that in communities which are located close to the Mexican border, the standard variety plays a more important role in the everyday language behavior of the population. Therefore, attitudes of the speakers of both communities will vary with regard to the language repertoire available to the speakers.

All these aspects of the sociolinguistic make-up of Chicano speech communities need to be considered by bilingual education planners. However, it seems that decisions concerning bilingual education programs are made only by grant-hungry administrators who do not know about the sociolinguistic composition of these communities and do not want to find out about it.

Gaardner (1967) has defined bilingual education as "a school which uses, concurrently, two languages as mediums of instruction in any portion of the curriculum except the languages themselves." However, the term "bilingual education" covers a wide range of programs whose goal is sometimes only to teach English as a second language. Most of

these programs are "transitional" in that they aim at easing the bridge to a complete English-monolingual system, although a true bilingual program should be that in which the use of the two languages continues through the school years.

Many Chicano educators feel, however, that a language maintenance program is not a realistic approach in a society in which there is no concern for the public status and use of the Spanish language. Furthermore, for many low-income parents, schools represented a frustrating experience and this failure causes resentment toward the mother tongue. In regard to those programs within a "language maintenance" framework, one must note that only the possibility of repertoire expansion, including role repertoire expansion, can validate Standard Spanish for those who see it only as an abstraction.

In a Chicano community such as East Austin, there are working class speakers and young militant Chicanos who advocate the use of popular varieties of Spanish in bilingual education, as they do not see any role for the standard variety in their community. It is obvious that a good number of speakers do not see the need for the teaching of Spanish and many of those who are positive toward the teaching of Spanish would like instruction to be rendered in Popular Spanish which is the variety most used in the community. One also finds pseudo-bilingual programs in which the Standard variety is taught for twenty minutes a day, which does not suffice for

a good language instruction, aside from the fact that the children get very little reinforcement for this variety from their families and their peer groups. It should be noted that some children are even objects of derision by other speakers when they try to practice what they have learned in school.

We need to know more about the attitutes of the speakers themselves toward the two languages they speak and the varieties of each language, as well as about attitudes toward the speech behavior of low-income speakers and outsiders. This information is needed in order to formulate effective language policies.

An understanding of attitudes is basic to the implementation of a bilingual education program which is ethnographically rooted, because no bilingual program will succeed if there is resistance to the program on the part of teachers and members of the community. It is interesting to note that often Mexican-American teachers are the most ardent fighters against bilingual education and the use of Spanish as a medium of instruction in Reading and Language Arts as well as in other school subjects. A newspaper from McAllen, Texas reported not long ago the action taken by a group of Anglo and Mexican-American teachers who tried to block bilingual education efforts, claiming that use of Spanish as a means of communication was greatly increasing in the halls, classrooms, playgrounds,,etc.,and that this gave the children very little practice in becoming fluent

in English. These teachers also claimed that these children would become economically handicapped when they finished high school and would always be compelled to live near the Mexican border because they would lack the necessary English fluency to get jobs in other parts of the United States.

Undoubtedly, these teachers have not considered the possibility that the problems do not lie in the students's use of Spanish in formal settings but in the approach used to teach them English. Furthermore, there is the case of teachers who fight against bilingual education because they do not feel confortable in teaching in Spanish as they have not been trained to teach school subjects in that language. Present teacher training programs do not seem to provide these teachers with sufficient exposure to Spanish. There is also the case of Anglo teachers who have taken two or three semesters of text-book Spanish in college and think that this qualifies them to teach working-class Chicanos, to supervise language components in bilingual education, to translate materials from English to Spanish, with an amazing lack of knowledge of the local varieties and the sociolinguistic situations they will encounter in the classroom. Everybody seems to want a piece of the pie nowadays, without being qualified for it.

One of the basic problems in bilingual education today, thus, is that of teacher training. It is here, as well as in the writing of educational materials where the Chicano speech community research, scarce though it may be, could

be best implemented. Teachers need to be taugh basic ethnographic and sociolinguistic principles -after one has done the research- in order to learn to appreciate differences in communicative strategies and in order to see language diversity as an asset rather than as a liability as it is considered, unfortunately,by a large segment of this society. They must learn that there will be settings in which it will be more appropriate to say No creo que lo haiga ponido ahí, than No creo que lo haya puesto ahí.

Teacher training programs should not only contrast the two standard varieties of the two languages (English and Spanish) but also the standard and popular varieties of those languages, Basic research on the structure of Chicano Spanish and Chicano English is needed in order to accomplish this task.

As we can see, we are still dealing with instrumentalities. We are talking about possible communication problems that may arise as a result of lack of knowledge of the local varieties. It is evident, however, that there is much more to Popular Spanish, Code-switching, or Caló; there are all the socio-economic and cultural foundations that have to do with the use of speech.

In talking about community ground rules for speaking, for example, it seems necessary to distinguish between men's and women's speech in Chicano communities as well as in other communities. Attention must be paid to sex-role differences in speech. No research has been done either regarding speech events, verbal playing and the socio-cultural dimensions

underlying them. In Chicano speech communities speech events such as relajando (insulting, trying to win over, cutting somebody down), madereando a alguien (flattering another person to solicit a favor, to get something in return) and others, have not been studied. Social interactional strategies and verbal exchanges such as jokes, insults, verbal dueling form part of an area of communication in Chicano speech communities which has not been researched at all. The study of these speech events has much to offer in providing insights about Chicano speech and culture, and in regard to how Chicano, Anglo, and Black communities see each other. It would seem that all this information could be incorporated in the writing of educational materials for older students.

The importance of creativity in verbal art has been played down in bilingual education programs which import middle-class oriented stories from other Spanish-speaking countries that do not have much to say to working class or migrant Chicano children. Programs such as the one on children's folklore currently being prepared by Richard Bauman and associates at the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory in Austin is a welcome turn of events. Institutions preparing educational materials ought to use the linguistic resources of the communities instead of Spanish translations of English rhymes and stories.

The Ethnography of Speaking is perhaps one of the fields that addresses itself to basic problems that deal with bilingual education efforts: language diversity, language use,

attitudes toward language, socio-cultural beliefs of the population, etc. However, it will not be possible to offer complete recomendations to bilingual education specialists until proper ethnographically rooted research is initiated. Furthermore, this research should cover all Chicano communities.

If we assume that bilingual education programs have been motivated by the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Southwest, we can say that ethnographically based research in Southwest communities is directly relevant to bilingual education. These studies should helps us to provide answers not only to questions regarding language varieties but to other aspects of language use, such as differences between speech which takes place in Chicano-oriented settings and in contexts associated with Anglo speakers, especially in regard to Code-switching behavior. In regard to the classroom, whatever language varieties are employed in the classroom setting, educators should be at least aware of the linguistic diversity of the community.

Research on Chicano Spanish has often been done in the past by researchers who were neither sufficiently conversant with the base language nor aware of the sociolinguistic composition of the communities. Lawton (1975:22) has noted that "in addition the work has often been conducted by English-speaking monolinguals working with native informants and "bilingual" intermediaries...a process which leads to distortion or deletion of important data significant to the conclusions

of the research." Although this situation seems to be changing as more Chicano linguists are working in areas relating to Chicano speech, there is still much to be done.

It would seem that in order to answer some of the questions raised by the Ethnography of Speaking in regard to Chicano speech communities, research in this field should be done by participant-observer researchers rather than by mailing out questionnaires or by drawing categorical conclusions about language use in Chicano communities, based only on our own intuitions.

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# THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BILINGUALISM IN EDUCATION

E. Glyn Lewis

## The Comparative Study of Bilingualism in Education - A model and a prospectus of research *

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E. Glyn Lewis

## The Comparative Study of Bilingualism in Education - A model and a prospectus of research

### (1) Rationales of Comparative Studies

#### (a) Facilitating the interpretation of national studies

The study of bilingual education in one country alone, whether this be in respect of one ethnic group or many, will always remain of considerable fundamental value whatever is done in the field of comparative studies. But it is doubtful whether we can repose much confidence in the explanations or the conclusions derived from such limited investigations. Because our perspective is restricted they do not permit us to plan systems of bilingual education satisfactorily or to modify those which already operate. The significance of any aspect of such an education becomes apparent only when we are able to compare it with other national systems or with systems within the same country catering for groups of comparable though not necessarily identical status - other types of minorities like the economically disadvantaged for instance.

#### (b) Safeguarding against oversimplification

Comparative studies also offer us a guard against the temptations of over-simplification to which even experienced students are exposed and sometimes succumb. Rather than attempt as at present to define bilingual education as if it were a single and uniform phenomenon, clearly identifiable and distinct from other forms of education (c.f Malitz, xii) researchers should be encouraged, rather, to analyse the necessary components of the education which is offered to bilingual children and to identify and compare possible variants.

#### (c) Discovering general laws

One of the main justifications for pursuing comparative studies of bilingual education is the discovery of general laws or principles, the formulation of which may be helpful to parents, teachers, administrators and politicans in predicting the success of a proposal or in diagnosing existing weaknesses or failures. Given these general principles together with detailed knowledge of the relative importance of significant variables and their operation in similar programs elsewhere educationists will have greater reason for confidence in the decisions reached.

#### (d) Comparative Studies have a supplementary function

Comparative studies have additional strategic advantages: they need not conflict with or supersede types of investigation to which students have become

accustomed, for instance those which are limited to particular disciplines or are concerned simply to provide descriptive accounts of single systems. Comparative studies need the support of such limited-interest studies, but its own aim is to generate hypotheses, formulate theories and offer explanations at a higher level of generality than those generated by single-discipline researches and limited descriptive studies.

(e) Describing the range of bilingual education

Finally comparative studies can map the range of variability in educational provision. Any number of very different programmes can rightly be claimed to be appropriate to bilinguals according to their different situations. Some programmes are designed to reflect existing societal linguistic pressures and these may need to have a very different pattern from those meant to create or to revive a former bilingual society. In each case the studies can reflect differences in the weight attached to important variables, for instance to literate as opposed to simply oral competence in one or both languages. The only necessary stipulation for a programme for bilingual children is that it should have regard for two languages. The wide range of possible programmes suggests the need for a model for a flexible approach to the study of the education of bilingual children based on the comparison of a large number of differential relationships between necessary components and influential factors. Hitherto the description of bilingual education has used a monogenic model, as if all programmes for bilingual children aspired towards or reflected the existence of an ideal blueprint. Such a monogenic approach becomes prescriptive and therefore restrictive. We have to abandon the idea of a 'bilingual education' and concern ourselves with the 'education of bilingual children' and direct our energies to the task of identifying factors which justify varying possibilities. This procedure enables us to discard the name of a type (whether maintenance, or assimilative or revival) and substitute the names of the operative variables together with measures of the intercorrelations of those variables. Furthermore, the ethnic group or the country involved is relevant only because it indicates a particular cluster of variables.

(2) Identifying the relevant variables

(a) Types of variables

In the comparative studies proposed here we are mainly though not exclusively concerned with 'systems-variables' which are of three kinds. First, the provision of a bilingual education in one country may be affected by programmes in neighbouring countries or in countries with which there may have existed a special relation. There is no doubt, for instance, that the existence of the

Canadian experience is of considerable significance to the United States at present. In the African continent the types of programme which are still being offered are influenced either positively because of emulation or negatively because of opposition to colonial systems. These are 'diffusion variables'. The second type of systemic variables includes those settings which influence all individuals for whom a bilingual education is provided in the system. Such settings we can classify as historical, external, institutional, behavioural and physical. The historical variables are peculiarly pertinent to the examination of differences between types of ethnic groups in the U.S. - indigenous Indians, incorporated Chicanos (and possibly Puerto Ricans) and Immigrants (e.g. Poles or Asians). Institutional variables have to do with aspects of the total system of education, the degree of centralised authority or local autonomy for instance, as well as the degree to which group, as distinct from individual rights have been institutionalized or enshrined in the constitution or by process of law. External variables have to do with a country's relationship with external powers. For instance Soviet policy towards minorities and their languages has tended to vary with changes in foreign policy or with the threat and resolution of external conflict. The attitude towards 'enemy aliens' in the United States during the Second World War has influenced attitudes towards satisfactory provision for bilingual children. The behavioural variables reflect the way in which a total system though it ignores the issue of bilingualism is successful or otherwise in meeting the needs of a bilingual population. For instance the success of the main stream programmes of schools in Wales, Ireland and Belgium in ensuring academic and professional advancement for a large proportion of the bilingual population tended in the past to legitimatize any deficiency in the bilingual provision. Finally, physical characteristics including the degree of isolation of a community, urbanization and rural depopulation, have effected the provision which is made in the Soviet Union, Wales, Canada and in many African countries.

Finally among system-level variables some of the most likely to affect the success of possible programmes are those which have to do with attitudes to languages and cultures in contact where such attitudes reflect a group consensus. For instance the centrality of attitudes to one or other language within the group's value system is a system level variable. A second aspect is the intensity of attitude, negative or positive: and this again is more than an aggregate of individual measures. Third is the rigidity of attitude, the degree of resistance to efforts to modify attitudes. Fourth, explicitness, namely the degree to which attitudesare articulated and may be debated within the group. Fifth, pervasiveness, the degree to which there may be a consensus about the usefulness of language as well as their 'authenticity' in respect of collective or group consciousness. Finally, stability of an attitude, involving a diachronic study is likely to be an influential variable in determining long term prospects.

(b) Diachronic studies of the operation of variables

The comparison of aspects and systems of bilingual education can and have been conducted diachronically as well as synchronically. A diachronic approach has constituted one of the major strands in main stream education studies but it has not been pursued with any great enthusiasm in the study of bilingual education. This is regrettable especially at present because, apart from being necessary to the understanding of well developed systems of bilingual education as in Wales, Belgium and the Soviet Union it should be of particular interest to countries like the United States where a state supported education intended specifically to meet the needs of bilinguals is a novel concept. Furthermore many of the proposals which are being pressed for enthusiastically and are the subject of operational research and development in Canada, the U.S. and Africa have a long history of controversy as well as of fundamental failure in some instances. This is true of the concept of "total immersion" which is little different in principle from the kind of programs which for decades characterised main stream systems in Ireland and Wales, and against the assimilative consequences of which the demand for a bilingual education was promoted. While history is no infallible guide, it cannot fail to offer a needed element of objectivity.

The historical approach may also assist us in discovering some general laws in the development of bilingual programs. Though not all social behaviour conforms to a limited number of recognisable patterns the assumption of a historical approach is that some such patterns do emerge and that they are continuously being restructured. Bilingual education appears to develop in most countries in four recognisable stages, each stage, because of new social demands, being a restructuring of the previous one. Let us take as our base the development of programmes for the education of bilingual children in Britain, affecting Wales in the main, although in the early years other Celtic languages were affected. In the first phase, corresponding to the second half of the last century bilingual education was accepted by the central administration because of the need to ensure a minimum competency to read and write - minimum literacy in a rapidly growing industrial society in South Wales particularly. Minimum literacy, which was necessary to the industrial mobilisation of the masses could be ensured only in the vernacular, namely Welsh. Consequently the language was introduced as an optional subject, later as a class subject and later still as a compulsory subject in primary schools. (Lewis (ed) 1953). One of the reasons at that time for the lack of a bilingual education among those speaking Scots Gaelic and Irish is that there was relatively little industrialisation where those languages were spoken and vernacular literacy was unnecessary.

With the industrial mobilisation of the masses the next requirement was the creation of a 'whole' society, the 'one nation' to which Disraeli referred. He discusses the "two nations between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets: who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners and are not governed by the same laws ... The rich and the poor". (Disraeli, p.67). It was to promote the whole society that the poet Arnold devoted his energies as an Inspector of Schools However the cultural values he advocated for the unassimilated classes were the patrician virtues of Classical and Hebraic traditions. The same was true of different ethnic 'nations'. So far as the speakers of Welsh were concerned they had no option, if they wished to be more than minimally literate but to accept an alien culture, much as they had been forced prior to the first phase of the programme of bilingual education to accept an alien language.

If the first phase is defined as instrumental bilingualism and the second as the phase of cultural assimilation the third sets out a more individualistic rationale which is the logical result of the success of the first two phases. This new phase is reflected in main-stream education by Dewey's theories, the relaxing of authoritarian approaches, pressure for differentiated curricula etc., and the colouring of educated thought generally by the theories of Freud and the acceptance of non-rational, not to say irrational aspects of culture. For the three R's (Reading, Writing and (A)Rithemtic) as the instrumental criteria of education were substituted the individualistic Three A's (Age, Ability and Aptitude) - a decided shift towards developmental criteria and the programming of the curriculum to meet indivudal needs and characteristics. It is no coincidence that the direction of research into bilingualism in education during this third phase is associated with the use of psychometric instruments and the canonisation of the intelligence test.

So we are now in the fourth phase. While not abandoning instrumentalism, nor all aspects of assimilation, and certainly not developmental requirements, there is now a recognition of political goals. The aim of a bilingual education is not simply to enable children to read and write, to become acquainted with the great traditions, or to ensure unfettered development but to provide an assurance of group equality. It is becoming increasingly common to call this the phase of pluralism. Even a very cursory examination of the development of bilingual education in Europe, the Soviet Union, Canada, the United States and Africa generally will suggest that these four phases appear in the same order

and reflect the same rationales everywhere. The only distinction is that in those countries where state provided bilingual education is a recent innovation the phases follow each other so rapidly that they are difficult to distinguish, whereas in those European countries with a long tradition of state intervention in bilingualism the phases are well spaced.

Diachronic studies may be of several kinds but I do not wish to pursue an analysis of them on this occasion.

(c) Synchronic studies: (i) Intra-systemic

The Comparative studies of current systems of bilingual education are also of several kinds. In the first place they may be limited to a single system of education as it might be the Soviet Union or the United States, and a comparison of the provision made for the different ethnic groups within the total system may be instituted as well as a comparison between the minority provision in general and main-stream provision. These are intra-systemic studies and recent instances are Anderson and Boyer (1970) in the U.S. and Lewis (1972) for the Soviet Union, the Surveys of Language Use and Language Teaching designed in East Africa by Prator and his associates (1967 - ), equally valuable but less complex systems studied by Malherbe in South Africa (1934), the Puerto-Rican study of New York (1953-7) and the 'Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales (1953). Intra-systemic comparisons of the education of bilingual children may be undertaken within the much wider context of a national socio-linguistic survey, for instance the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada (1965), and the Irish Committee on Irish Language Attitude Research (1975). Earlier examples of this type of comprehensive study are the several Royal Commissions for Education in England and Wales and particularly the Reports of the Commissioners of Enquiry into the State of Education in Wales (1847) which is a pioneer and exhaustive survey of the relative position of two languages in education and society. One of the defining characteristics of a comparative study is that the balance of interest between the several systems and subsystems is maintained. Studies like those undertaken in Wales or Canada, whether they involve many aspects of education for bilinguals or with a limited aspect such as the achievement of bilinguals and monolinguals (WJEC, 1969) or attitudinal studies (Sharp et al 1973) devote equal attention to English and Welsh, English and French to bilinguals and monolinguals alike. This is the case also with Malherbe's study in which Afrikaans, English and Bantu languages are involved. On the other hand, some studies such as those of Toussaint (1935) Macnamara (1966) and Arsenian (1937) have used one of the groups simply as a control in the investigation of bilinguals.

(ii) Inter-systemic

The alternative to the intra-systemic approach is a comparison of systems of bilingual education in different countries. In spite of their potential substantive and methodological interest and value, very few of these have been undertaken, the most recent being the most sophisticated (Fishman, 1975) and IEA (Lewis & Massad, 1975) and Carrell, 1975). One possible reason for their infrequency is the scale of operations required simply to obtain data, and the even more numerous difficulties in ensuring that investigators not only work to common methodological criteria but have comparable attitudes to the investigation. Usually cross national studies have tended to deal with single aspects of the curriculum of bilingual children, like the teaching of a second language. However, we should now remove this limitation since it is apt to reinforce the stress that has been placed on exclusively cognitive evaluations. What is required is a holistic approach, the total provision, all aspects of the development of bilinguals, affective and social as well as cognitive should be evaluated.

(iii) Taxonomic/Nomothetic: Explanatory/Descriptive Studies

Whether they are undertaken within or between different national systems comparative studies pursue different aims. They may conform to a taxonomic model and so aim to establish a classificatory system, a classification of types of programmes; or alternatively they may be nomothetic, and so aim to discover general principles or laws which can be used to predict the likelihood of success or failure of programmes in specified circumstances. Nomothetic studies have tended to be restricted in scope, for instance the identification of co-ordinate and compound types of bilinguals and the circumstances of their occurrence. This restriction is inevitable so long as such studies are dependent upon a methodology which is specific to a particular discipline like psychology or linguistics. With the development of an approach which is both comparative and holistic, directed towards understanding bilingual education comprehensively, this limitation is unlikely to be perpetuated.

Taxonomic studies are necessary to the satisfactory pursuit of nomothetic studies. Classification, whether of types of programmes, demographic factors, types of languages in contact, etc. is necessary before principles can be either formulated or validated satisfactorily. For instance the characteristics of either co-ordinate or compound bilinguals are reinforced or inhibited by the nature of the particular programmes of bilingual education in which they may be involved. Consequently the characteristics themselves are masked to such an extent that it becomes exceedingly difficult to predict their behaviour in different educational systems. In one programme compound bilinguals may be at an advantage while in another they may be disadvantaged.

(iv) Explanatory and Descriptive Studies

Another distinction lies between descriptive and explanatory studies. The most fruitful approach to comparative studies of bilingual education up to the present has been descriptive, where the intention has been to demonstrate the range of cross cultural variability of the attributes of such an education. This is particularly true of the I&N English project (Lewis & Massad). Of course the mere accumulation of data can result in burdensome incomprehensibility - it is very easy for an investigator to be overwhelmed by a glut of facts. At present, however, taking into account the intense interest in developing bilingual education and the relative neglect of such enquiries in the past a glut of information is the least likely event and the least disadvantageous if it were to occur.

The study of bilingual education has come to be associated with the practical concern to initiate such a provision or to improve what is already available. This being the case the hitherto predominantly descriptive accounts are found to be inadequate and have had to be subordinated to studies in which a hypothetic-deductive approach is adopted. Nevertheless in order to explain it is necessary to make statements about possible relationships and those relationships can only be established on the basis of descriptive statements in the first place. The inductive and deductive approaches feed upon each other and the 'scope of science cannot be equated with the logic of testing hypothetic-deductive hypotheses' (Frijda and Jahoda, 1960). Just as the inductive process is weak in validating comparative statements so the deductive approach is weak when it comes to generating novel hypotheses, for which we have to continue to depend on descriptive studies imaginatively interpreted.

(4) Establishing comparability

(a) Data and concept comparability

The greatest obstacle in comparative studies, and particularly those of bilingual education is the establishment of concept and data comparability.

Issues of comparability affect different variables differently. For instance some concepts, like those of type of school or school programme (whether academic, general or vocational) though difficult to equate in a-priori fashion may be defined operationally. The definition is arrived at in the process of the analysis of the data. We establish comparability by identifying common features. However, the concepts which can be handled in this way tend to be related to administration and organisation. Other concepts, such as those having to do with the ends served by a bilingual education (teleological concepts) are difficult and in many cases impossible to define or to equate operationally. Such concepts are elements within the total value system which determines the substance of a bilingual education and not simply its conduct.

This may be clarified if we examine different interpretations of the concept 'equality' in bilingual education in different sub-systems within a country, as well as in different countries. First, there are differences between those who while accepting the requirement that all groups should have equal provision, diverge on the question of whether equality includes the right to press for changes in or the reorientation of the existing overall system of values and the education which reflects those values. For instance does acceptance of equality entail the acceptance of the right of Indians or Chicanos in the U.S., of the French in Canada or the Flemish population of Belgium to work towards the overthrow of existing institutions which operate the main-stream system of education in their respective countries? The majority in the United States and in Canada may believe in equality, with sincerity, but by it they may mean no more than the right to participate in the existing society and to share equally the existing provision. The Minorities, however, tend to claim with increasing stridency that equality includes a right to transform the total system. This radical difference in the interpretation of a key concept in bilingual education is apt at the present moment to confuse discussion of the concept 'pluralism' and what it entails. It has to be accepted that there is no way of proving that programmes of bilingual education which are conceived within one interpretation of equality are 'less truly bilingual' than programmes conceived according to different interpretations. Consequently part of the character of a comparative study of bilingualism in education is that it should be philosophical. To be scientific in this case is to be metaphysical.

Independently of different interpretations of the concept 'equality' there are different views about how bilingual education should be structured to promote equality. For instance equality may mean the complete integration of the system of bilingual education into the main-stream system, differences in linguistic affiliation being regarded in much the same way as are other special attributes like musical ability. This is the case in the Soviet Union and in Wales, where in each case the entire system is, generally speaking, bilingual. On the other hand the bilingual programme may be structured in such a way that though identical programmes are provided for different groups they are placed in different schools or in different 'streams' or 'tracks' within the same school. South Africa provides separate schools, as does Belgium. Within the Soviet and the Welsh systems there is provision for separate schools and separate streams within the same school. A third method of resolving the problem of equality is to ensure 'positive discrimination' in favour of ethnic groups who may be regarded as historically disadvantaged. Schools in intensely Welsh speaking areas, which may therefore be regarded as having long standing but acute problems of bilingualism receive higher financial assistance for the purchase of books etc.

and have a more favourable teacher pupil ratio than schools in English speaking areas. These are only some ways of structuring bilingual education to take account of the fundamental concept of equality. We cannot establish comparability between systems unless we are first able to assess differences or similarities in the interpretation by different groups within a nation and by different nations of key concepts.

The establishment of 'substantive' as distinct from 'organisational concept' comparability will entail that the former (perhaps the latter as well) has to be considered within a philosophical context, with the aim of reaching an understanding if not agreement about the philosophical issues involved. Only when we have the confidence which agreement on philosophical postulates ensures can we discriminate with greater precision between the different educational aims which different ethnic groups pursue. For instance it should enable us to understand and to allow for the different and possibly radically opposed implications of the satisfaction of 'individual development' on the one hand and 'ethnic or social group development' on the other as educational aims. When we are told that a 'language policy should aim at the full development of human beings as individuals' as well as 'the full development of each language community and region' (Desberiev) we are led to infer that the aims are either synonymous or that the consequences of their adoption would be the same. In fact they may not even be compatible. Freedom of individual development is what each person can claim as a 'natural' and absolute right. What groups, even ethnic groups, can claim are conventional rights. Groups of all kinds change, and regions are inhabited by mobile populations. The affiliation of individuals to groups, or their association with regions are contingent on social change and a matter of historical development.

In the United States group-maintenance as a rationale is being advanced with great vehemence and stridency, although the basis of the claim must vary with the type of ethnic group under consideration. Treaties establish those of the native American Indians. The group rights of Puerto-Ricans to the use of their language in education is derived from the statutory guarantee of such a claim on the Island and only by extension to the mainland. Immigrants are entirely apart in this respect. The position of immigrants in Britain is much the same as in the United States: bilingual education has to be justified in terms of the 'natural' human rights of each individual to equal educational opportunity and not in terms of 'group' or national autonomy. Even if they are

not respected in practice in all cases group rights in the Soviet Union are guaranteed by the constitution. Because of this the rationale of bilingual education in the U.S.S.R. is identified with the political rights of 'nationalities' and controversy concerning bilingual education is also political. This is equally true of Switzerland. In Belgium group rights (associated with ethnic and religious affiliations) tend to be equally prominent as justifications for a particular language policy.

(b) Comparability of relations rather than units

The problem of comparability of data and concepts is greater the more complex and wide ranging the study and the more fundamental the concepts involved. It decreases as the focus of study is restricted to a particular aspect of bilingual education, for instance where we are comparing only a limited number of national systems or a limited number of sub-systems within any one nation, or where the concepts involved are organisational and administrative rather than substantive. In complex systems however the problem of comparability may be met by avoiding direct comparison of two nations, or two bilingual subsystems within a country, for instance minorities in general in the Soviet Union compared with the U.S. or Canada, or the bilingual education of Indians and Chicanos separately etc. in the U.S. Instead we can institute a comparison of relationships. Those that exist between the bilingual sub-systems and the total system of education in a particular country may be compared to the relationships of similar bilingual subsystems to the total system of other countries. If the difference between mainstream education in two countries are deep-seated it is not unlikely that the differences between bilingual subsystems irrespective of ethnicity will be equally profound. In which case it is not so much the differences between the two sets of national bilingual subsystems that are of interest as the differences in their relationship to the main stream system of education in each case. We are concerned, in this model to indicate how the variability of measurements taken in two contexts, bilingual subsystem and total system in the same country are in some way related to variabilities of measurements taken in two similar contexts in another country. This model does not necessarily eliminate the problem of concept comparability but it does diminish its intensity. It is what the IEA model provides for in so far as it looks at a particular area of the curriculum, e.g English, and makes an assessment of its place in the total curriculum, i.e. its relationship to other aspects, like Science or Mathematics, and compares the relationships cross-

nationally. It is unlikely that much advantage could be derived from a direct comparison of the teaching of English in Sweden and Thailand for instance, but a study of the relationship of English to each of the total educational systems is highly illuminating. The same model, limited as it is in the IEA studies to Subjects of the curriculum, can be adapted to a comparison of the whole curriculum of a bilingual subsystem to the whole of the curriculum in the main-stream system of education.

Cross-national comparison of the relative position of bilingual subsystems in this model relies on comparisons of subsystems to main stream provision of education in each country. It also entails the examination of the relationship of other types of subsystems e.g. special education to the total system, as well as the relations of those other subsystems to the bilingual subsystem in which the interest principally lies. In Britain such other subsystems could be different types of selective education or rural and urban education. This will establish whether variations that are hypothesised as existing between the bilingual subsystem and main stream provision do or do not also characterise relations between other subsystems and the main stream. Such a combination of cross-systemic and inter-systemic comparisons can help to place the issues of bilingual education in any one country, as well as cross nationally, along a single dimension or continuum of the provision for all types of minorities or special groups. As a result we would be in a position to test the hypothesis, that in spite of the current pressures to promote bilingual education in several countries its importance is nothing like as great as that of other minority issues, for instance the education of the economically disadvantaged. It might also be hypothesised that bilingual education for those who press its claims derives its attractiveness because it is fundamentally an aspect of a more exigent problem, and that 'ethnicity' with which bilingualism is tied, is simply the mask or symbol of a more general disquiet and malaise (c.f. Talcott Parsons, 1975).

(5) Generating new Hypotheses

One of the main advantages of the approach we have sketched is its capacity to generate new hypotheses. With the expansion of bilingual education and the development of new techniques of studying it new hypotheses are required as probing instruments. Researchers can derive no value from continuing to work within the frame of long and widely held beliefs as the staple of their hypotheses. However, some experienced students of the subject still rely on hypotheses which have long ceased to be productive. An astringent scepticism of the value of familiar hypotheses and of the results of previous researchers would repay us (c.f. Tucker and d'Anglejan, 1973).

We are left therefore with the need to speculate concerning the kinds of novel hypotheses which are likely to be required and which might be generated by the proposed model. First they would relate to the functions of bilingual education, especially those functions which may differ from those of the main stream. The principal interest of bilingual education in contemporary society, whether in developed or undeveloped countries is how it reacts to social change. Consequently it is necessary to examine the conditions under which a bilingual programme, compared with main stream provision, promotes or inhibits the development of varying cognitive styles which may characterise ethnic groups, as well as the acquisition of cognitive skills or the accumulation of knowledge which has been the focus of attention to date. Flexibility and ease in deploying the use of different styles of thinking, while it has always been an advantage is a necessity in a rapidly modernizing society. Second, we shall need to examine hypotheses formulated to discover whether the advocacy and promotion of ethnic identity, as a rationale for bilingual education, inhibits the development of a 'civic' or superordinate 'political' culture and attitude, which it may be argued are a safeguard of the stability of a diverse or heterogeneous society: whether in fact some forms of bilingual education are socially divisive.

Third, hypotheses which relate to possible intrasystemic differences in the rationales for bilingual education suggest themselves. Four clusters of such rationales have been identified earlier - instrumental (minimum literacy), cultural mobilization of the whole society, psychological (individual development), and socio-political (preservation or maintenance of the group). We need to know the relative current operational value of these clusters as well as how their relative wights in the context of bilingual education compares with their relative weights in main stream education. For instance, are we likely to discover that bilingual education is motivated by political considerations to a greater or lesser extent than is the case with main stream provision? Or are there differences in the political motivation of the two? Fourth, there is a set of 'institutional hypotheses' which invite formulation and validation. For instance it would be valuable to examine whether ethnic problems inhibit the possibilities of differentiation within school classes of bilingual children compared with main stream provision and with what consequences? One of the fundamental hypotheses might relate to a comparison of the nature and the consequences of differences between systems of administrating education. Such differences exist between the U.S.S.R. (highly centralised), Britain (dual central/local control) and the United States where general education tends

to be locally financed, but bilingual education is handled and financed by central systems. Fifth, a set of demographic hypotheses need to be considered. For instance to what extent is a bilingual education acceptable and successful among ethnic groups who live in concentrated communities like American Indians, compared with others, like immigrant groups that are dispersed? To what extent, irrespective of concentration or dispersal does the total size of an ethnic group affect the viability of bilingual provision? And, especially, how far do these considerations affect the type of bilingual education which is approved by the ethnic group and/or by administrators who reflect the views of the society at large? Such hypotheses would be illuminating in comparing bilingual education in the Soviet Union, the United States, Canada, and Africa. Finally, hypotheses in respect of the evaluation of bilingual education suggest themselves. For instance how far does bilingual education call for evaluation procedures different from those used in the main system? If they should be different how far does the failure to recognise this affect the content as well as the methodology of bilingual education? In other words how far does the system of evaluating bilingual education reinforce existing types of program and the existing control of bilingual education?

(6) Conclusion - the need for an independent theory and methodology

The principal function of the model envisaged here is to generate new hypotheses, or new statements which map a theory of bilingual education relevant to a modernizing society. Second, the model sets out the framework within which the rules for inferring relations between sub-systems and total systems within any one country and between countries can be manipulated, and how they can be validated. A 'comparative model' having its own unique character and not derived directly from one discipline offers advantages. It will need to allow of descriptive as well as normative approaches. Its main descriptive function will be to discover the total range of variability between systems. It will be normative in so far as it enables conclusions to be drawn about how bilingual education should be framed in the light of different ethical education goals, background considerations such as size of community, its history and its attitudes, etc.

So far as concerns the comparative study of the teaching of particular aspects of the curriculum the IEA model performed these functions satisfactorily, and some of the conclusions derived from the study of English as a Foreign Language could be formulated as hypotheses in a comparative study of bilingual education. For instance the IEA study of English suggests that school based

variables, particularly the amount of time devoted to the subject (within such limits as age of introduction) appear to be more important than societal variables We may hypothesise that since, almost by definition a foreign language, compared with a second language has little societal support and the second language has a great deal there will be considerable difference in the influence of the two sets of variables - societal and instructional, on achievement. Validating such a hypothesis would be useful in indicating to administrators, curriculum framers and teachers in many countries how a language like English hitherto essentially a foreign language, now, because of earlier introduction and great intensity in teaching is approaching the status of a second language. Methods of instruction, text books and the pattern of the curriculum need to be modified to take this into account.

Furthermore a model such as is proposed here may function equally well as a systems or a process model. The former is a model of the organisation of those areas of instruction which are affected by the bilingual policy. what use is made of the relevant languages, the extent to which the curriculum embraces considerations of the two cultures etc. It also provides a guide to the anlysis of the broader administration of bilingual education in any country or province - its relationships with the administration of main stream education. The process model on the other hand is either a psychometric or a linguistic model, and represents the relationship of developmental aspects of bilingual education to each other and to selected dependent and independent variables. Both a systems and process model have to be multilevel, involving observation and analysis at each level of a system such as class, school, subsystem, and national, within and across countries. A process model has to reflect the relatinship of bilingual education at different age, ability, attitude and aptitude levels. Since the differences at each level are accounted for as they are met in the process of analysis the model is a 'most different systems' model. Most comparative studies of bilingualism in education hitherto have taken as their point of departure already known differences in the units being investigated. What is proposed here is that the systems included for investigation and comparison should be selected according to one criterion alone, namely that they cater for children exposed to two or more languages, whether these are all recognised in the system or not, and whatever status the languages enjoy. This also is the basis of the IEA study where any country could participate provided it taught the subject being investigated to a sufficient sample of students of the relevant age groups.

Change is of the essence of the reality to which a bilingual education has to accommodate. It is concerned to promote emerging ethnic groups and their languages or to preserve them in a rapidly changing universe.

Finally the study of bilingual education cannot ignore the phenomenon of consciousness. Bilingual education is not justified because "it is able to tie together by regular relationships concrete aspects of social life ... Men use their capacity to act not in response to their objective environment, in which case their actions would be explainable and predictable on an objective basis, but in response to their perception and appraisal of that environment" (de Jouvenal). Were the efforts of students and proponents of bilingual education to be guided exclusively by their assessment of the objective situation and of the predictable outcomes of change they would have been tempted to acknowledge defeat before they even commenced their campaigns. Their views are not governed by the scientific demands for precise and meticulous measurements. The pursuit of such precise accounting is equivalent to the refinement of methodology as synonymous with advance. The very inspiration of bilingual education is humanistic rather than mechanistic. For that reason we should be guided by Aristotle: "Look for precision in each class of things in so far as the nature of the subject permits".

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Summary provided to NIE by CAL Staff

Presentations and discussion at the Bilingual Symposium dealt primarily with suggestions for research which linguists should undertake to assist bilingual programs. These suggestions can be grouped under four headings:

- learning research
- language research
- ethnographic and demographic research
- measurement research

These focii of research, then, can be viewed as preliminary priority areas. The more specific research questions listed below, addressed to each priority area, have not been ordered according to perceived importance. Instead, CAL suggests that innovative research on any of the questions, grounded in education reality should be seriously considered for support.

Discussion also elicited some suggestions for activities other than research for which linguists' contribution is needed. Briefly, these included:

- a training program in linguistics for the bilingual education planner
  It was felt by the linguists that much of their knowledge base could be useful in planning curricula. Acquaintance with theoretical linguistics and with the available literature on language issues was thought to be a plus for any planner.
- a guide to language analysis. Because linguists will not be available to assist all school districts and realizing that any language (such as the Indian languages of Mexico) may some day be a part of a bilingual education program, it was proposed that a guide to language description in the field be written. Such a guide would be a manual of what to look for in a language, and would be intended for a field worker who is not

a linguist as well as for a teacher who might encounter a student or students with language features unknown to him/her.

- Models or vehicles to translate linguistic research into everyday teaching activities. A plea was made for a "mapping" between research and educational programming.
- More symposia of the sort held in San Francisco. The meetings displayed a need for a forum for linguists and bilingual education specialists and teachers to work together. Educators wish to be able to direct the research more to their own needs. Some felt that such symposia could assist this.
- A series of papers summarizing the various sub-fields of linguistics in clear, non technical prose.

Again, CAL suggests that innovative proposals to undertake any of these activities also be considered for funding.

Learning Research

The following questions were offered by educators particularly as needing the research attention of linguists:

1. How can we determine whether or not the Bilingual child is progressing normally?
2. Will the Bilingual child be handicapped by having two languages?
3. Will cognitive growth be aided by having initial instruction in the native language?
4. What is the optimum age for second language learning?
5. Is the rate of second language acquisition affected by the extent to which the first language is spoken in the immediate environment?

6. Is the acquisition and use of first and second languages affected by the ethnic/linguistic background of the instructor?

7. How does instruction in second language affect the subsequent use of the native language?

8. Can a child learn to read better/faster if he starts to read in his native language?

9. What is the optimal balance of use of the two languages in a bilingual program?

10. What is the optimal level for bilingual education programming to be phased out?

The linguists themselves offered the following research suggestions related to learning:

1. In what order do children in first and second language acquisition acquire communicative functions? Are certain pragmatic functions perceived to be more important than others? It would make sense to first teach children how to use language for the functions that are most important to them.

2. What are the similarities and differences in how native and non-native children employ rules of conversation? What rules do the non-native children have difficulty learning and why? Here we should be concerned not only with the form of the rule but the pragmatic and sociolinguistic information necessary for using the rule.

3. How does the child make himself understood in a second language when he has failed in an initial communication attempt? What non-linguistic strategies are relevant for (child) first and second language learners? Research would provide insights that could be particularly helpful to a non-native child struggling with the complexities of a new language.

4. How much does the fact of teaching/learning in one language, representing a different culture influence crucial motivational factors. For instance, could motivation on the part of a student be misconstrued by the teacher as boredom, troublesomeness, or ignorance because of interference from a linguistic source?

5. What effect does language input, in particular from educators have on the non-native child's speech development? Are certain language input forms and styles more facilitative to the child's language development?

6. How do speakers modify their speech to young children as they are acquiring language? Investigation of this subject on first language learners may suggest alternative linguistic styles to teachers in bilingual education programs depending on the linguistic development of the child.

Language Research

1. For any particular program in bilingual education, the varieties of a language and style of speech used, both of the native language and of English must be adequately understood, described, and made known to teachers. Conference participants encouraged funding of researchers to describe the dialects , varieties and styles of all languages involved in the bilingual education program.

2. Basic theoretical linguistic (syntactic) research, both in theory construction and in specific language studies may reveal new ways of looking at language, and hence at language learning, and be of service to education, especially to bilingual education.

3. Linguists support the funding of contrastive analyses and error analyses between English and target languages of bilingual programs. When interference from one language into another can be predicted, it can often be prevented from slowing language learning by special attention to the structures causing

the interference. And if the interference is likely to occur in a brief transition stage, then it would be useful to know that special attention is not needed.

4. There is need for studies of language acquisition in older children. An important gap in our understanding of the maturation of the brain as it relates to both the acquisition of language and of other cognitive functions is the characterization of what physical changes occur from about 7 to 9 years of age. Since this is the age group of many children in bilingual programs, research - both psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic - seems not only appropriate but necessary.

Measurement Research

Despite the fact that the development of diagnostic and achievement tests is not the specific domain of linguistics, it is clear that the linguist should have a major role in such development. Bilingual education legislation requires the early assessment of language abilities in order to determine the child's program. The O.C.R. guidelines, make it apparent that discrete point testing will no longer be considered sufficient - that more context sensitive tests need to be used. The areas of ethnography of speaking and sociolinguistics then should play an important role in developing assessment measures.

1. At the moment, language tests are woefully inadequate in terms of content validity. However psychometrically sound they appear to be, they will not be optimally helpful until there is research evidence that they are actually measuring what they claim to measure. There is need for an inventory of realistic and critical measurement points which reflect what really matters in language acquisition. It would seem unlikely that phonological and grammatical features would weigh as heavily as language functions if one were to address the question of "effective participation in the classroom"(Aspira Consent Decree).

2. Of immediate importance is the need to help destroy the myth that non-English speaking children are slower in cognitive development than their English speaking counterparts. The research of Edward D'Avila has clearly demonstrated that Mexican-American children did poorly on regular English I.Q. Tests as compared to their Anglo counterparts did as well as the Anglo children on non-verbal Piagetian tasks. This sort of research should be extended to all age levels to provide undistorted assessment of the non-or limited English speaking child's cognitive development. Such assessment will help prevent false stereotypes or unwarranted expectations about the child intellectual potential.

3. It is necessary to discover the method of testing which best taps a bilingual child's knowledge. Is the bilingual child for example better at mathematics in English or in his ancestral language? Schools might engage in comparative testing research with well-controlled samples in which the children's knowledge of various content areas is assessed in both of his languages.

4. Most language development tests available on the market today are designed to assess the development of English language skills. No instruments that we are aware of are available to assess Chinese, Filipino or Japanese language development. Very few good tests are available to assess the development of Spanish language skills. A top priority for research and development is the creation of valid and reliable tests to assess language development in other than English languages.

5. Existing language development tests in any language should be examined for certain potential difficulties including:

a. The assumptions held about the experiences of the child. The school often assumes that the child completely understands the meaning of the instructions, the questions and the answers. It is further assumed that the test items are unambiguous because the children who take the tests have had common experiences which the test items reflect in words, pictures or objects. Often the test takers' reasons or purposes for making certain choices or for giving certain explanations are expected to correspond with those of the person taking the test. Likewise incorrect answers are assumed to result from faulty reasoning or lack of some sort of ability, skill or cognition. Correct responses are assumed to occur because the child has seen the logical connection between question and answer. In neither case can we be sure that such an assumption is accurate, primarily because the culture and experiences of children vary so dramatically,

b. The assumptions held about the testing situation. In taking a test all children are assumed to face the same conditions. This, in reality may not be the case. For adequate diagnosis and placement to take place, the test situation must insure that the child's responses are the sole result of the interaction of his innate abilities with the test stimulus.

Ethnographic and Demographic Research

In order to plan or implement a bilingual education program, sufficient information about the target population and its use of language needs to be available. Ethnographic, demographic, and sociolinguistic surveys will need to determine:

1. the languages/language varieties spoken in which parts of the area.
2. the number of speakers (according to SES, age, sex of each language/variety.)
3. the language (or language variety) used in various situations. More particularly, what language varieties, styles, and ways of speaking are found in the home, on the street, in churches, stores, and other community locales; at work, in banks, hospitals, and other locales outside of the community.
4. the directions of processes of language chance or shift (in particular, which groups are shifting.)
5. factors such as media, social structure, etc., which are contributing to the maintenance of one or more languages/dialects in that area.

6. The social mobility and/or migration patterns for persons of particular language/dialect groups in particular areas.

7. Attitudes of various language groups in various parts of the state about their language and about English. In particular parental attitudes need to be determined: Do parents want their children to be literate and verbally facile? Do they want their children to be so good with their ancestral language that they could enter the appropriate grade level in the schools of their home country? Do the parents care more about values and traditions than they do about language?

There is need, as well, for research to develop methodologies for conducting surveys to gather information in response to the questions above. Because of this dual need, then, NIE may wish to support first methodological research which would result in a model sociolinguistic survey instrument. Support then might be provided to selected school districts to conduct studies focusing on a selected geographic area, to carry out sociolinguistic surveys from which information pertinent to their bilingual programs might be drawn.